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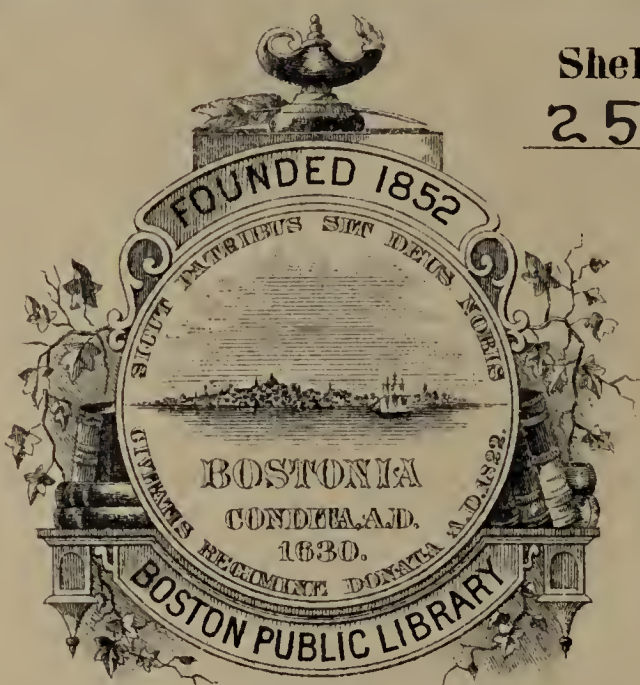


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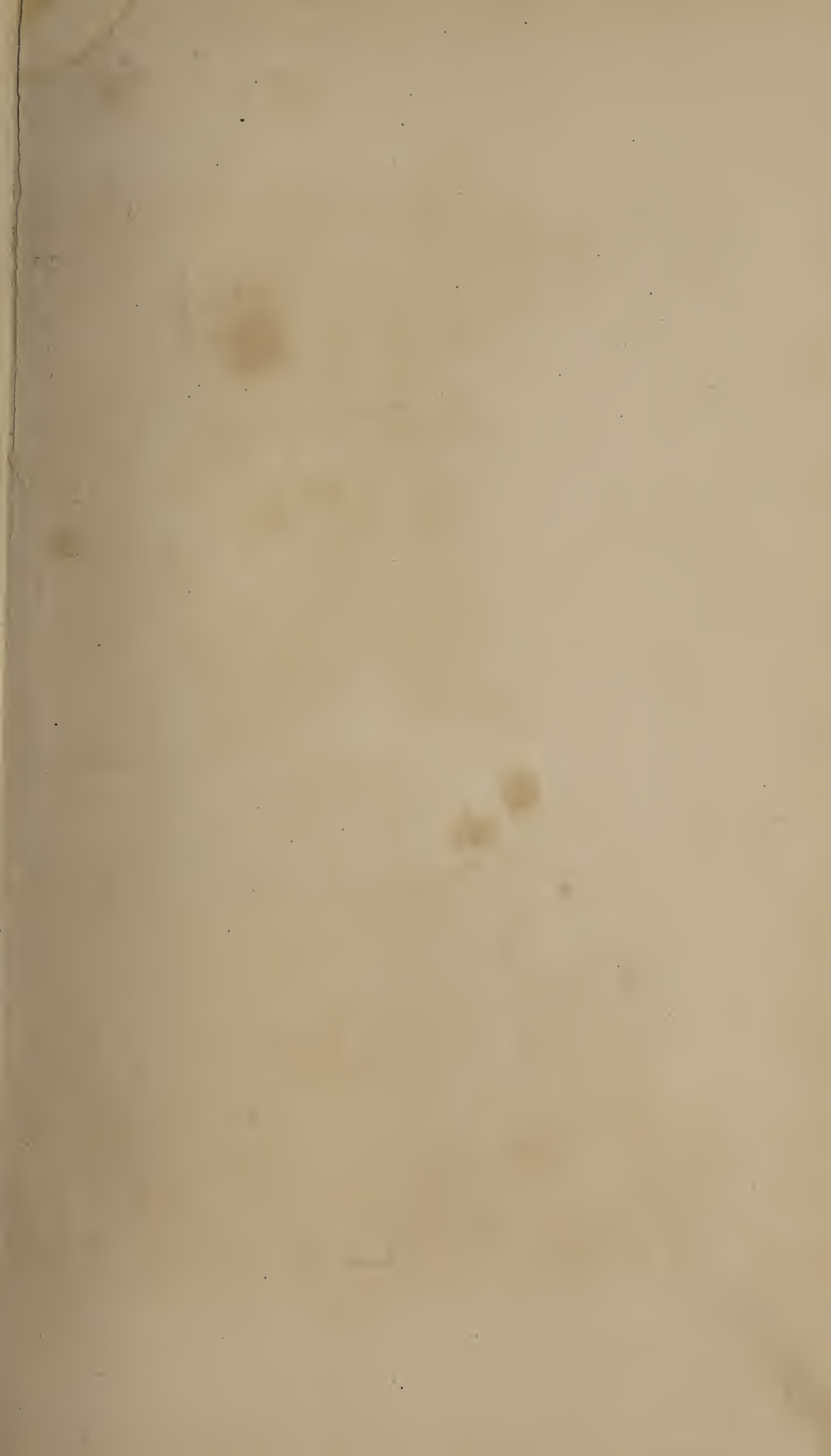
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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE CASTLE AND TOWN
OF
ARUNDEL;

INCLUDING

THE BIOGRAPHY OF ITS EARLS,

FROM

THE CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

THE REV. M. A. TIERNEY, F. S. A.

CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

G. AND W. NICOL, PALL MALL.

1834.

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ARUNDEL
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LONDON :

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100 St. George Street

TO THE MOST NOBLE
BERNARD EDWARD, DUKE OF NORFOLK,
EARL OF ARUNDEL AND SURREY, &c. &c.

EARL MARSHAL, AND HEREDITARY MARSHAL OF ENGLAND,

THIS VOLUME,

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF HIS FAMILY,

AND OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF

HIS TERRITORIAL POSSESSIONS,

IS,

WITH HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION,

RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS HUMBLE AND OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.

Page 542, note d. The opinion expressed here, as to the probability of a mistake in Granger, is wrong. The portrait at Arundel Castle turns out, on a closer inspection, to have a tuft of hair, on the right side of the chin.

Page 627, line 11, for *Cortosa* read *Certosa*.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE work here offered to the public presents the first attempt to embody a detailed history of the family and property to which it relates. Though, by his will, dated in 1641, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, had recommended the furtherance of such an undertaking to his successors, yet, with the exception of what Dugdale accomplished in the Baronage and Monasticon, and of what the younger Vincent collected in his "*Heroologia Anglica*"—a manuscript to which I have frequently referred,—nothing seems to have been effected towards the realization of his views, until the publication of Mr. Dallaway's History of the Rape of Arundel.^a Into that work the subject of the present volume necessarily entered as a component part: but the object, no less than the limits, of the author required him, in some measure, to exclude all but a general outline; and little, therefore, was added to the stock of information, which his predecessors had already amassed. By these circumstances I was originally led to the contemplation of the present work: I was confirmed in my design by the fact, that of Mr. Dallaway's publication the greater number of copies

^a The valuable collection of Sayntelowe Kniveton, of which there are two copies, one in the Heralds' College, the other in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 4840, is dedicated to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and was, consequently, made during the life of that nobleman.

had been accidentally destroyed: and, notwithstanding that a new impression of the Rape of Arundel was subsequently given to the world, still, as the supply of the author's omissions, and the correction of his errors fell not within the scope of the editor's plan, I saw no reason to abandon my proposed task, and accordingly resolved to proceed.

On the manner in which that task has been executed it now remains with the public to decide. That the subject comprises more than its ordinary share of topographical importance; that, in many of its details, it is associated with some of the brightest recollections of our country; and that, without losing the peculiar charms of a local narrative, it offers much that might lend an interest to the recital even of the general historian, it is needless to remark. In the treatment of such topics, it will be a merit to have opened some fresh sources of intelligence, or to have presented some new points of knowledge to the curiosity of the reader; and if this, therefore, shall be found sufficient, in the present volume, to redeem the errors, and atone for the unskilfulness, of the other parts of the performance, I shall rest contented with the award, and shall feel that my labour has not been entirely bestowed in vain.

To the many facilities which have been afforded me, in the prosecution of my researches, it may seem almost superfluous to allude in this place. My frequent references to the evidences at Norfolk House, to the registers of the Bishop of Chichester, to the records preserved in the Tower, and to the MS. collections that enrich the library of the Heralds' College, will, of themselves, bear testimony to the extent of my obligations in

each of those quarters. Yet, the unhesitating kindness, with which these several archives have been thrown open to me, renders some expression of my acknowledgments indispensable; whilst the readiness of individual friends to supply me with extracts from such documents as were necessary to my purpose, requires that I should not dismiss them without the offer of my heartiest thanks. To the accomplished talents, and unaffected friendship of the Reverend Charles Bethel Ottley, the present rector of Welby, in Lincolnshire, I am indebted for all the etchings that adorn the volume, no less than for the drawings, from which the two engraved views of Arundel Castle are taken. The plate representing the brass figure and inscription on the grave of Thomas Salmon and his wife, in the collegiate chapel, is the joint contribution of my friends, Mr. John Gage, and Sir Frederick Madden, of the British Museum; and to me offers an agreeable memorial of two or three instructive days, which I lately passed in their society.

I once entertained a hope that I should be able, in this place, to record my obligations to the corporation of Arundel. On the twenty-first of last August, I addressed a note to the mayor, stating my desire to inspect such of their muniments as were "calculated to throw light on the ancient history of the borough," pledging myself "to make no use of any information I might acquire to the detriment of the corporation," and requesting that my application, together with an assurance that my "object was exclusively literary," might be laid before a meeting of the members. On the following Tuesday, the mayor complied with this request. My note was submitted to the consideration of the assembled

burgesses : it was again presented to their notice, on the twelfth of September : but, up to the present moment, they have not condescended to honour me with a reply. I regret this circumstance, first, because the body has thus submissively adopted, as its own, an act of discourtesy, which belongs not to the majority of its members, and secondly, because I should have been glad to receive at its hands that information, which I now owe to accident and the kindness of individuals. That the history of the borough, indeed, has been rendered defective by this want of liberality on the part of the corporation, I have no reason to believe. The list of their papers, which I possess, leads me to suppose, that, with the exception of what may, possibly, be contained in their earliest bridge-warden's book, their archives could have supplied nothing beyond what I have otherwise procured. Yet, it would have been satisfactory to have examined every document, to have weighed every authority, and to have been able to say that, as far as the industry of one individual could go, nothing remained unexplored.—As it is, if I have mis-stated any thing—of which, however, I am not aware—the corporation, at least, must not complain.

One word, before I conclude, on a different subject. In the course of the present work, the reader will see that I have had frequent occasion to notice the inaccuracy of Mr. Dallaway's History of the Rape of Arundel. In this, however, my object has been, rather to vindicate my own statements, than to call attention to those of my predecessor. Mr. Dallaway's authority as a writer has long stood high with a large portion of the public. His errors, indeed, are numerous—the consequences of

negligence and inattention; but his habits of research have placed an immense fund of information at his command; and whilst the former necessarily escape the attention of all but the student, the latter invariably attract the regard, and win the confidence, of the general reader. Had I forbore to point out some, at least, of the mistakes of such an author, every variance in our accounts would, probably, have been charged as an error upon me. I have, therefore, preferred to adopt the opposite course, not unwilling, at the same time, to acknowledge, that, in Mr. Dallaway's performance, I have often found a guide to documents, whose existence might otherwise have escaped me. I can only say,—

“ Ad hæc nunc
Laus illi debetur, et a me gratia major,
Nil me pœniteat sanum patris hujus.”

Arundel, October 29, 1833.

P.S. Since the foregoing lines were in type, the last three numbers of the Gentleman's Magazine have been placed in my hands. In addition to a most ridiculously incorrect account of the collegiate chapel at Arundel, they contain the life of Henry Fitzalan, last Earl of Arundel of that family, printed from the MS. in the British Museum to which, in my memoir of the same nobleman, I have constantly referred, and accompanied by notes and extracts from other writers, by Mr. I. G. Nichols, of Parliament Street, the printer and real editor of the new impression of Mr. Dallaway's Rape of

Arundel. Mr. Nichols has long been aware that my work was in the press: but, as I have no right to limit the field of his literary exertions, so I have no intention to complain of having been anticipated on the subject of the memoir in question. My sole reason for alluding to his publication is, that, as his notes comprise most of the authorities which I have cited, I may at once declare, that those sheets in the present volume which contain the life of Henry, the twenty-second Earl of Arundel, were printed off, some months before the appearance of Mr. Nichols's communication to the Gentleman's Magazine.

Mr. Nichols's assertion, borrowed from Mr. Dallaway, that there is a portrait of this Earl at Arundel Castle, is contrary to the fact: and the mural inscription in the collegiate chapel, copied from the same writer, is, from the errors of its successive transcribers, in some parts utterly unintelligible.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—INTERESTING NATURE OF LOCAL HISTORY—SCARCITY OF EARLY RECORDS IN COUNTRY TOWNS—CAUSES OF THIS—GREAT NUMBER OF ANCIENT SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH AT ARUNDEL—SITUATION, NATURE, AND EXTENT OF THE PARISH—SITUATION OF THE TOWN—APPROACHES—DERIVATION OF ITS NAME—DESCENT OF THE HONOUR—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES RELATING TO IT—THE FOREST OF ARUNDEL.

THERE are few branches of knowledge whose importance has been so generally and so justly extolled as that of History. From the days when Cicero proclaimed it to be “the light of truth, the life of memory, and the preceptress of life,” the world has been accustomed to hear its praises and listen to the recital of its powers. Its effects have been detailed; its influence on society has been recorded; and the theme has been eagerly adopted by those, who, in the revolutions of ages, have watched the silent but steady progress of civilization, who have traced the nations of the earth through all their various gradations from barbarism to refinement, and, in the connexion of by-gone events, have marked the successive improvements of the world in arts, in legislation, and in government. It is in the records of the past, indeed, that we are taught to appropriate the experience of our fathers, and to compress, as it were, the wide extent of ages that are no more into the narrow compass of our own existence. By them we are enabled to live more happily to ourselves, as well as more beneficially to society. We behold the rude institutions and ruder

manners of our ancestors, and learn to prize the superior blessings of the present age. We mark the operation of various causes all working for the same desirable end, and we are encouraged to look forward for the improvement of whatever still remains imperfect: whilst the perseverance, the patriotism, and the thousand other virtues of those, who have left their names to brighten over the page of history, warm the feelings by which *we* are to be excited, and illuminate the path by which *we* are to advance in the same career of social benefit and individual fame.

Important, however, and instructive as is the narrative of past events, history is seldom more interesting than when, descending from the loftier and more splendid regions of general detail, it dwells for a moment on the celebrity of some ancient place or renowned individual; or, when shutting out, as it were, the vast and varied prospect of the world, it limits our view to the less extensive, but more clearly defined, beauties of some favoured spot. As Scott has observed of poetry, "to generalize is always to destroy effect." If the struggles of empires, and the convulsions of the world have much of sublimity in the recital, they have much also of uncertainty and indistinctness. They are too large for the grasp of ordinary minds, or too indefinite to act on common sensibilities: whilst the interests awakened by the details of local history are such as, from the facility of comprehension, and the identity of the objects presented, must necessarily come home at once to the feelings of every reader. They place us by the firesides, or walk with us among the graves, of our fathers. They fling an interest over the moss-grown turret or

mouldering ruin, which would otherwise be wanting. They attach a living story to the thousand inanimate objects with which we are surrounded; and, as we move from place to place, they shed upon us all the varied feelings—the hopes, the fears, the sorrows, and the joys—of those who once fought, or sighed, or prayed in the same spots. There is a beautiful passage in Johnson not unconnected with the present subject. “We were now,” he says, “treading that illustrious “island (Iona) which was once the luminary of the “Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving “barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the “blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all “local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavored, and would be foolish, if it were possible. “Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; “whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future “predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my “friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us “indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has “been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That “man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not “gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety “would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.”^a And yet, what were even Marathon without the tale that still can people it with its armies—“the flying Mede and hot pursuing Greek?”—or where would be the magic interest of Iona, if we were unable to point to the glory which once encircled it; if we knew not of the kings whose dust is mouldering beneath our tread, or

^a Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, p. 139.

had forgotten the holy men, whose piety and learning once rendered its shores the sanctuary of both ?

It is not always, however, that the local records of earlier times have been preserved with that care which will enable us successfully to extend our researches to any very remote period. To say nothing of the revolutions, religious and political, that have destroyed existing documents, and diverted the attention of men to other objects, there has been, particularly in more remote places and smaller towns, a want of taste, or, at least, a practical indisposition to engage in the unprofitable pursuit of enlarging or preserving the history of antiquities, whose splendour had passed away, or whose existence could no longer be converted to any lucrative purpose. The authorities of parishes and boroughs—and these have generally embodied the slender information of their respective places—have been too busily engaged in the more immediate concerns of life, in promoting the interests, or bustling through the fancied importance, of their ephemeral offices, to bestow any regard on the mere records of the past, or on histories that breathed only in the desolate accents of some mouldering ruin. The clauses of a charter, the donation of a mace or of a drinking cup, or the collection of some port or market dues, were things more substantially important in the eyes of such men : while the origin of their liberties and privileges, the magnificent and chivalrous scenes of former days, the castles that still frowned upon them, and the ruins that, even in their decay, still proudly told of glories that had been,—these, and more, were left, with all their thrilling interest, to the casual notice of the general historian, or even to the more vague and

uncertain traditions of future generations. In some instances, perhaps, the dismantled tower or deserted temple invited its own destruction by the serviceable nature of its materials, and then not a stone, far less a record, was left to tell of all that had passed away: in others, a more fortunate locality sometimes arrested the work of demolition, but then the solitary remnant was spared only to be converted into a hovel or a barn, and to stand, through future ages, without a story, and almost without a name!—Thus the workings of the same spirit are constantly discernible, whether in the preservation or destruction of the remains of antiquity; and it will scarcely therefore be deemed a matter of surprise, if under such circumstances but little has survived to inform the antiquary, or to guide the curious reader in his researches.

Whether it arise from these or similar causes that ARUNDEL in particular is deficient in many of the memorials which might have illustrated its early history, is a question of small importance to the design of these pages. Certain it is that few towns of the same extent have possessed so many subjects of interesting enquiry: and equally certain that, in various instances, little beyond an occasional and almost accidental notice has been preserved for the instruction of the present age. Yet, to say nothing of its other more ample records, sufficient still remains, even in the scantiest relics of its history, to produce that association of ideas which constitutes one of the great attractions of these studies. It is not always that the mind wants to be encumbered with the minutiae of circumstantial detail. Place it, by means of a single memorial, in the midst of past ages,

place it in the mouldering aisle or ivied turret, and it is often better content to conjure up its own processions and its own battles, than to receive them in the form of the most authentic relation.—Perhaps, in this point of view, the slenderest of the following notices will not be thought entirely destitute of interest.

Parish of
Arundel.

ARUNDEL, which gives name to its Rape, is a parish of moderate extent in the Hundred of Avisford, and is bounded, on the north by Houghton; on the north-east by South Stoke; on the east and south-east by Lyminster including Warningcamp, from which, on the east, it is separated by the river Arun; on the south by Tortington; on the south-west by Binsted; and on the west and north-west by Madehurst. Its contents may be computed at about 1875 acres, of which 710 are in pasture and meadow, 347 are in tillage, and the rest are either comprised within the park, or occupied in various proportions as forest land. Its woods are generally oak and beech; and it contains or commands much of that picturesque scenery for which Western Sussex has been frequently celebrated.

Situation
of the
Town;

The town is in the lower division of the parish, and is pleasantly situated on the southern declivity of the South downs, sloping to the river which runs below it, and commanding an extensive prospect along the valley, through which the Arun as literally as beautifully “winds its fantastic course:”

“Mæander sibimet refluis sæpe obvius undis.”

Its ap-
proaches;

The principal points of admission are on three sides,—on the south-east from Brighton, on the west from Chichester, and on the north, or north-west, from London. They

are neither of them good : but the approaches, especially those from London and Brighton, are particularly striking, and abundantly compensate for the inconvenience of the respective entrances in which they terminate. It is at a spot called the *White Ways*, about two miles from the town, that the immediate approach on the London side may be said to commence. The traveller has just ascended the northern acclivity of the South downs. Behind him, to the east and west, spreads the magnificent valley which is terminated in the distance by the Surrey hills : before him, on the right, is seen the rich and varied tract, which comprises Madehurst, Dale Park, and Slindon, their woods and hills and broken vallies, with the spire of Chichester Cathedral beyond, the line of coast from Bognor almost to Portsmouth, the sea in the background of the picture, and the Isle of Wight hanging like an immense cloud in the far horizon. On the left, the park of Arundel, with all its bold undulations, stretches away towards the sea : whilst over it the eye is carried to Highdown Hill and Worthing on the coast, and all the little villages, “ embosomed high in tufted trees,” that intervene. Through the midst of this scenery the road, by a gentle descent, proceeds directly forward to the town. Plantations of stately growth and various extent rise continually on one side or the other, and, presenting, as they break away, each object in some changing light or different position, lend a ceaseless diversity to the prospect.

But it is on the south-east side, from a hill called the *Causeway Hill*, which rises immediately from the opposite bank of the river, that the town is seen to the greatest advantage. The road, which has been running for

several miles in a westerly direction, suddenly bends its course to the north-west, and, in an instant, the vale of the Arun lies spread beneath. On the side of the opposite hill hangs the town, crowned by the church and the magnificent elms which wave above it, and stretching down to the water's edge below. At the eastern extremity, on an abrupt projection, stands the Castle. Over it, in the back ground, towers the venerable Keep, "breathing its stern farewells" upon the passing stranger; whilst the park, and the hanging wood at Offham, which display themselves still further to the east, with the plantations, called "*the Skreens*," that skirt the western vicinity of the town, fill up the picture with their characteristic effect, and perfect the beauty of the view.

Derivation
of its name.

There are certain writers who delight in the discovery of some remote allusion in names the most plain, and are never so well satisfied with themselves as when they can obscure the simplicity of some received and natural derivation with the dust of their antiquarian research. To such persons few names have afforded more frequent employment than that of *Arundel*. History and Geography, the realms of fancy and romance have been explored in order to discover its origin, and little has escaped that could be enlisted in the service with any prospect of success. One author has found the word in the transposed letters of a Roman port: another has toiled through the ancient British, Belgic, and Phœnician dialects in search of some similarity of sound: a third has amused himself with a rebus founded on the resemblance of the words *Arundel* and *Hirondelle*; whilst others have not hesitated even to mount the fabulous

horse of a fabulous knight, and ride in dreams to a promontory of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, in quest of the reluctant and fugitive etymon. Such fancies and such exploits may amuse the reader, as they have probably amused their respective authors: but, in determining the actual derivation of the name, he will perhaps feel inclined to be less excursive in his ideas, and with Camden will seek its true origin in the DELL, or valley, of the river ARUN, on which the town is situated.^a

^a “Causa nominis nec ab Arundelio, Bevisii fabuloso equo, nec ex Charudo, Cimbricæ Chersonesi promontorio, quod Goropius per quietem vidit, sed ex valle in quâ sedet ad Arun flu.” *Camd. Britt.* 227. Among the various attempts which have been made to assign a learned derivation to this name, none certainly is more unfortunate than that which supposes the “Portus *Adurni*” of the Romans to have been formed from the transposition of the letters in “*Arundi*.” Those who are familiar with the localities of Sussex are well acquainted with the river *Adur*. Rising in the parish of Nuthurst, it flows through the greater part of the Rape of Bramber; and, in its name which is still preserved unchanged, affords sufficient evidence that the “*Portus Adurni*,” which some have placed at Portsmouth, and others have confounded with Arundel, was in reality no other than *Shoreham*, which stands at its mouth.

The only plausible objection to Camden’s derivation of the name of *Arundel* is found in the presumed fact that, by the Anglo-Norman and Latin writers, for several centuries after the Conquest, and consequently after the town had obtained its present appellation, the river continued to be called “*Hault Rey*,” or “*Alta Ripa*.” Yet, if this practice prove any thing against the early origin of its existing name, the consequence will be, not only that, contrary to every other known instance, the river derived its appellation from the town, not the town from the river, but that the town, which is changeable in its nature, has remained unchanged in its name; whilst the river which is ever the same, and therefore less exposed to accidental alterations, has laid aside its distinctive title, and assumed a modern desig-

The Honour of
Arundel;

The earliest notice of this place, which the industry of successive antiquarians has been able to discover,

nation. The fact, however, of its having ever been denominated "Alta Ripa" is extremely questionable. Gough found it so asserted in an anonymous MS. formerly at Arundel Castle, and afterwards adopted it in his edition of Camden (I. 196.): but the sole authority of the MS., which is dated in 1624, is the existence of a family named "Dawtrey," formerly "De hault rey" or "De Alta Ripa," who possessed a large estate at Hardham, "even in the very bosome of the High Streame," and *therefore* derived their surname from the river. Now this conclusion is scarcely warranted by the evidence. That a *place*, and not a *river*, called "Alta Ripa" (Οχθη ὑψηλή) existed on the eastern coast of England we know from Ptolemy (lib. 8. c. 3.); and it is at least as probable that the family in question migrated from thence, as that they obtained their cognomen from the contiguity of a river to a part of their domain. At all events, the name itself sufficiently indicates the circumscribed locality of its import. If the word "*Ripa*" must necessarily be applied to the *stream*, instead of to its *bank*, the term "*alta*" at least confines it to the *higher*, or *upper* portion of the river: and hence it is that, even at the present day, the part *above* Arundel is not unfrequently called the "High Stream."

I may here, perhaps, be allowed to notice a tradition which still exists among the Norwegians, and which asserts that their countrymen, in the course of their descents on these coasts, established themselves here, and gave the name of their own town, "*Arendal*," to the place. The story itself is highly improbable, first, because the Northmen never remained long enough on the southern shore to make such a settlement; secondly, because the natives, and particularly Alfred, would never have adopted a name which, if conferred by their enemies, could only serve to perpetuate the memory of their country's misfortunes: but it affords a curious illustration of the eagerness with which various persons have contended for the honour of assigning an origin to the name of Arundel, and may perhaps offer some apology for the dreaming propensities of him, who could expect to discover its derivation in a promontory of Jutland.

occurs in King Alfred's will, in which *Epundellan*, with the neighbouring lordships of Aldingbourn, Compton, Beeding, and others, is bequeathed by the royal testator to his nephew Athelm.^a In that document it is described simply as a "*manor*," undistinguished in its privileges from the other property with which it is associated;

^a "Ƴ æðelme mineƳ broðer Ƴuna Ƴone ham æt ealdingbunnan. Ƴ æt cumtune. Ƴ æt epundellan. Ƴ æt beadingum. Ƴ æt beadingahamme. Ƴ æt bunham. And to Athelm, my brother's son, the manor at Aldingbourn, and at Compton, and at Arundel, and at Beeding, and at Beddingham, and at Barnham."—Alfred's Will.—Since the publication of Gough's Camden, and of the Oxford edition of Alfred's will, it has become usual to dispute the correctness of this reading, and to maintain that not *Arundel*, but *Crundel* in Hampshire, was the place alluded to by the monarch. The reason assigned for this innovation is, that in Mr. Astle's MS. copy of the will, from which the Oxford edition is printed, the word is written *cpundellan*; and, as the similarity between *c* and *e*, which are never in capitals, is great, it is contended that a mistake might easily have been made, and *cpundellan*, by the mere addition of a stroke, have been metamorphosed into *epundellan*. It is difficult to argue with such a possibility as this. That "*Arundel*" *may* be a false reading for "*Crundel*" it were useless to deny: but that the error *may* also lie on the other side is, at least, equally probable. It is quite as easy to mistake *epundellan* for *cpundellan* as the reverse; and when we find that Parker, Camden, Spelman, and Wise, who all consulted the oldest and most authentic MSS. unite in reading the former, it is impossible, I think, to withhold a suspicion that the latter is in reality the corruption. Add to this, that the place in question is mentioned in the midst of five others, all of them in Sussex, and four of them almost in the immediate neighbourhood of Arundel: and though, on one or two occasions, the will unites in the same bequest estates which were situated in distant places, yet in no instance will it be found to quit a spot in the midst of its recital, pass into a different county, and to a distance of perhaps sixty or seventy miles, for some single property, and then, as in the

and in the same form it most probably passed to Godwin and his son Harold, who were successively Earls of Sussex.^a

It is at the period of the Conquest that the Honour of Arundel first meets us in that dignified and important character by which it has since continued to be distinguished from every other in the kingdom. Among the barons, who accompanied William in his successful invasion of this country, was Roger de Monte Gomerico, or Montgomery, a nobleman of extensive possessions in Normandy, and nearly related, through his mother, to the Conqueror. He commanded the centre division of the victorious army at the battle of Hastings; and, in return for his services, received the two Earldoms of Shrewsbury and Arundel. To each of these dignities a proportionate extent of territory was of course attached; for William was not parsimonious in rewarding his followers, and the lands of the conquered natives offered the readiest means of securing the fidelity of his former subjects. Of the six Rapes into which Sussex is divided, two, namely those of Chichester and Arundel, were marked out to form

modern hypothesis of *Crundel*, return to the original point, in order to complete the assignment which had thus been so capriciously interrupted.

It should be remarked that the word "ham" in this passage signifies properly a place of dwelling: and that consequently the term "*manor*," by which it is always translated, must be understood, in its original acceptation, to include a residence or habitation for the lord. Camd. 149, 354. and Cowel, in voce.

^a Siméon Dunelm. 184. Selden Titles of Honor, 618. The MS. R. Lee, clarenc. R. 36—in the College of Arms, which is cited by Mr. Dallaway to prove that Harold was Earl of Arundel, is a book of armorial drawings, and pretends to no historical authority whatever.

the Honour of Arundel. They were calculated to contain eighty-four knights' fees and a half, or 57,460 acres. They comprised the city of Chichester and Castle of Arundel; the ten hundreds of Poling, Westeaswrith, Avisford, Rotherbridge, Easebourne, Box, Stockbridge, Bourne, Singleton and Bury; the forests, woods, and chases of the same; the lordships of Halnaker, Petworth, and Midhurst; eighteen parks; and seventy-seven manors. In this immense property Montgomery was already established in 1071; and he continued, during a space of twenty-three years, to derive from it those revenues which were as ample as they were necessary to maintain the splendour of his rank, and support the numerous retainers by whom he was surrounded.^a

^a Domesday, 23 & seq. The Parks were, at Arundel, the great and little parks; the Ruell, Batworth, Selhurst, Eastdean, Westdean, Wythe, Downley, Alfrith, Cocking, Woollayington, Shillinglee, Westholt, Villerswood, Stansted, Bignor, & Medehone parks. *Fitzalan MS. apud Burrell MSS. 5687. f. 3.*

Memorand. Quod A^o. Dni 1071, Rogerus de Montgomerici, Comes Arundell, fuit pacifice seizit' de fœd' subscript' pertinent' ad honorem Arundell in Com. Sussex. Imprimis de Castro Arundell, forest' warren', hundr' et aliis libert' spectant' ad Honorem Castri. Item de maneriis de Borne, Singleton, Preston, Palyngeham, et Northstoke, continent' v fœd' militum. Item xxii fœd' mil' et dim', que Will' de Percy tenet in Petteworth, Tolliton, Sutton, Donketon, Heschete, Stedeham, Cockynge, Saleham, Lynchemere, Revere, Stepheham, Cotes, Lynche, Berlavyngton, Plettham, et Bigevenere. Item iiiii fœd' mil' et dim', que Savaric de Bohun tenet in Midhurst, Ffordes, Rustiton, Clympynge, Palynges, Denham, Tratton, Dempford, & Dudelyng. Item ii fœd' mil' in Treford et Codelowe. Item ii fœd' mil' in Shapewycke et Livemenstre. Item i fœd' mil' in Graffham et Madehurst. Item i fœd' mil' in La Grave. Item i fœd' mil' in Storghton. Item vi fœd' mil' in Bargham, Hame, Tortyton, Gretham, Elmer, Bebeton, Preston, et

Its
descent.

Roger Montgomery died in 1094; and, by his will, bequeathed his lands in Sussex, and elsewhere in England, to his younger son Hugh. From him, on payment of a

Walderton. Item xii fœd' mil' in Halfnaked, Strethampton, Bernham, Walb'ton, Middleton, Easthamptonet, Westhamptonet, Bromore, Compton, Hunston, et Boxgrave. Item vi fœd' mil' in Goryng, Haydon, Beaucy, et Dadesham, nuper Hugonis Bygot. Item iii fœd' mil' in manû Abbatis de Sagio apud Totyngton, Hampton, Atheryngton, Gates, Ffyshebourne, Arundell, et Yabeton. Item iiii fœd' mil' que Matheus Husee tenet in Hertyng et Chitehurst. Item i fœd' mil' in Westerton, et i fœd' in Drayton. Item iii fœd' mil' in Nhutbourne et Merdon, nuper Aguilon. Item i fœd' in Angemeryngg, nuper Ranulphi de Brock. Item ii fœd' mil' in Stoke, Offham, Warnecampe, Wepham, Burpham, et Pyperyng. Item i fœd' mil' in Bulsham. Item iiii fœd' in Nyntimbre, Pulberg, Wildebrug, Merston, Westmerdon, Northmerdon, et Oupmerdon. Item ii fœd' mil' in Yabeton.

Memorand. Quod A° Dni 1071, Rogerus &c.—fuit pacifice seizit' de oibus fœdis subscriptis pertinent' ad Honorem suum Arundell in Com. Sussex et Suthton. Imprimis de Castro de Arundell cum x hundred' pertinent' ad Castr' predict', viz :—Polyng, Westesewrith, Avesforde, Rutherb̄r, Esebourne, Box, Stockbrugge, Bourne, Sangleton, et Bury, cum oibus libertat' ad dict' hundr' pertinent'. Item de Forest', Chac', et Warren' cum libertat' suis, viz : Forest de Arundell, cum Bosch' de Houghton, Dautryeshouk, Bygevenor, Bury, Ruele, Bulsham, Rhunborgwode, Selershe, Nemleswode, Dyneswode, Polyngesfoldswode, Turgiseswode, Ffencheswode, Stourmyeswode, Stanstede, Dunle, Alfrithesholt, Wangre, Villereswode, Estdene, Whittlye, Shullingeleggh, Westholte, et Burywode. Item de Villâ Arundell cum pertinent', viz : terra, prat', molend', stagn', pisch', stallag', fer', mercat', et oibus aliis libertat' ad ea spectant,' et reddit', sive placit' et perquisit' . . . Item iii fœd' mil' in Slyndon. Item iii fœd' mil' in Aldingbourne, et Ferryng. Item vi fœd' in Boseham. Item iii fœd' in Ecclesden, Wicken, et Bury. Item ii fœd' in Lurdyton et Walderton. Item ii fœd' in Kingeston et Billingshurst. Item ii fœd' in Felgham et Flansham. Item i fœd' in Pynkehurst, Dadesham, et Clympesfold. Item i fœd' in Wonneworth. *Fitzalan MS. ut sup. f. 2.*

fine to the King of £3000, they passed, in 1098, to the elder brother, Robert, Earl of Belesme in La Perche :^a but, in consequence of his revolt from Henry I, in 1102, the property became forfeited to the King, and the Honour of Arundel, together with its Castle, was resumed by the Crown. By Henry it was settled in dower on his second wife, Adeliza, or Alice, daughter of Godfrey of Lorraine,^b who, by a subsequent marriage, conveyed whatever interest she possessed in it to William de Albini, Lord of Buckenham, in Norfolk. Albini, however, was soon fortunate enough to convert the life estate of his wife into a more durable property. When Maud, daughter of Henry I, and mother of Henry II, landed in England in the year 1139, to assert her claim, against Stephen, to the throne, she was received at Arundel, and protected in its Castle, during several days, from the forces of her opponent. Sensible of the assistance which, in this and other instances, he had rendered to his cause, Henry the second, on his accession, resolved to reward the services of the Earl; and a grant of the Castle and Honour of Arundel to him, and to his heirs for ever, testified the monarch's sense of the obligation he had incurred.^c The Honour was now conveyed in regular succession to the three lineal descendants of the grantee. To William de Albini, the fourth Earl of Arundel of that name, who died without issue in 1224, succeeded his brother, Hugh de Albini, the last Earl of that family. He died in 1243, and left four

^a Orderic 708.

^b Hist. Paris 65. Norman. 978.

^c Cart. 5. Ed. III. per Inspex. and Grant of William, Earl of Arundel, to the Monks of Boxgrove, apud Dugd. Monast. I. 593.

sisters, or their representatives, his coheirs, amongst whom his estates were divided under a special commission from the crown. The precept for this purpose, which is dated November 27, 1243, (28 Hen. 3.) is directed to Geoffry de Langley. It authorises him to assign to Robert de Tateshall, son to Mabel, the eldest of the four sisters, the Castle and Manor of Buckenham in Norfolk; to Roger de Somery, husband of Nichola, another sister, the manor of Barwe, or Barewe, in Cheshire; to Roger de Montalto, who had married Cecily, a third sister, the Castle and Manor of Rysinges in Norfolk; and to John Fitzalan, son to Isabel, the second sister, and nephew to the deceased Hugh, the Castle and Manor of Arundel with all its appurtenances.^a The partition of the other property appears to have been committed generally to the discretion of Langley, who subjected the Honour of Arundel to a special division, and allotted a portion of its possessions to each of the coheirs. To Fitzalan, however, the largest part was assigned; and the ten hundreds which had hitherto belonged to it, the forests, chases, and other liberties, together with forty-four knights' fees and a fraction, still continued to be attached to the Castle.^b Of this

^a Pat. 28 Hen. III. m. 12.

^b Memorandũ. Quod post mortem Hugonis de Albiniaco, Comĩ. Sussex et Arundĩ, terræ et tenementa fuerunt participĩ inter Johẽm Filium Alani, Rogerum Somery, Robertum Tatteshale, et Rogerum de Montealto. Et Henricus Rex Secundus præcepit Galfrido de Langele facere participationem sub formâ quæ sequitur; viz.—quod *Johĩ Filio Alani* assignĩ, pro parte suâ in comitatu prædicto, Castrum de Arundell cum forest' chac', et aliis lib't eidem spectant'. Item assignĩ eidem x hundrĩ lib', viz.—Polyng, Esewrith, Avesford, Rotherbrugge, Esebourne, Box,

property he obtained possession the same year^a; and was afterwards succeeded in it by six Earls his lineal

^a Rot. Fin. 28 Hen. III. m. 6.

Stokebrugg, Bourne, Sangleton, et Bury, cum oībus libertat' ad ea spectant', adeo integraliter sicut extitissent in manū Dnī Regis, eo quod dignitas regalis est. Item assign' eidem xxii fœd' mil' et dim̃, que Will' de Percy tenet. Item iiii fœd' mil' que John' Bohun tenet. Item i fœd' mil' in Grafham et Madehurst. Item ii fœd' mil' in Cudlowe et Treford. Item ii fœd' mil' in Schapwyk et Leveminstre. Item i fœd' mil' et tertia pars in man' Thom' de Ponyngs in Strehampton et Westerton. Item eidem v fœd' mil' in Bourne, Sangleton, Palingham, et Northstoke. Item dim̃ fœd' mil' in Blakehurst, nuper Cherleton. Item dim̃ fœd' mil' in manibus Prioris de Boxgrave, in La Grave. Item dim̃ fœd' mil' apud Wyke, in manu Stephi Power. Item dim̃ fœd' mil' in Yabeton apud Bercourt. Item x pars apud Grenstrete, nuper Foxle. Item i fœd' mil' in Nhotborne. Item dim̃ fœd' mil' in Aldesworth. Item xx pars unius fœd' mil', modo Bannyster, nuper Chauntmerle, in La Dene. Item ii fœd' mil' in man' Tregoz, in Hame, Bargham, Grefham, et Walderton. Item i fœd' mil' in Dudelynge.

Similiter assign' Roberto Tatteshale, pro parte suâ, iiii mil' fœd' in Hertinges, Chithurste, et Rogate. Item eadem in Nhotborne, Oupmerdon, et Bargham. Item i fœd' mil' in Lurditon. Item i fœd' mil' in Westdene, Chilgrove, Bynderton vocat' Chauntmerle, Chamberlaine, et Scardevyle. Item i fœd' mil' in La Grave. Item i fœd' mil' in Walderton. Item iiii fœd' mil' in Noteborne, Pulbergh, Wildebrug, Marston, Westmerdon, et Nytymbre. Item v fœd' mil' in Bargham, Hame, Preston, Bebeton, Grefham, Elmere, et Tortyngton. Item i fœd' mil' in Bulsham.

Et assign' Rogero Somery i fœd' mil' in Warnekamp, nuper Willi de Altâ Ripâ. Item ii fœd' mil' in Northwode, Estmerdon, et Northmerdon. Item ii fœd' mil' in Drayton et Houghton. Item iiii fœd' mil' in manu Joh'is Neville in Warnekamp, Southstoke, Offham, Waltham, Ertham, et Grefham. Item ii fœd' mil' in Angemeringe et Kingstone. Item i fœd' mil' in Storgeton et Coudham. Item ii fœd'

descendants. By Edmund, however, the third, as well as by Richard, the fifth, in the order of inheritance, it was forfeited to the crown: yet being restored to their respective sons, it was transmitted in regular succession, till it vested in Thomas, the sixth and last in the direct line. He died without issue, in 1415, leaving three surviving sisters his coheirs. But his grandfather, Richard, Earl of Arundel, probably with a view to prevent the further division of the Honour, had, in 1347, (21 Ed. 3) entailed it first on his wife Alianor for the term of her natural life, and then on the heirs male of his own body begotten on the said Alianor, with remainders over; and, on the demise of Thomas, therefore, it passed entire to his second cousin, John Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers, who accordingly obtained livery of it in 1416.^a It now descended uninterruptedly through a succession of seven Earls of the united families of Fitzalan and Maltravers, of whom Henry, who died in 1580, was the last. His only son had died in 1556; and his two daughters therefore, Joan married to Lord Lumley, and Mary the wife of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, had

mil' in Keredford et Billingshurst. Item i fœd' mil' in Pynkehurst, et Clymmesfold. Item ii fœd' mil' in Felgeham et Flemesham.

Et assigñ *Rogero de Monte Alto* xii fœd' mil' in Halfnaked, Boxgrave, Wodecote, Strethampton, Bernham, Walberton, Middleton, Esthamptonet, Westhamptonet, Birdham, Bromere, Compton, et Hunston. Item vi fœd' mil' in Goryng, Heydon, Beaucy, et Dadesham. Item ii fœd' mil' in Arundell, in manu Prioris Arundell. Item ii fœd' mil' in Rumboldswyke, et Mundham. *MS. Fitzalan, ut sup. f. 3.*

It should however be remarked that the Close Roll, 28 Hen. III. m. 10 in dorso, states the number of knights' fees assigned to Fitzalan in this partition, only at twenty-eight and a fraction.

^a Esch. 4 Hen. V. n. 54. Rot. Parl. iv. 442.

become his coheirs. Of these the latter, who was already dead, had left an only son, and the former, who had been wedded nearly twenty years, was still without children, when, in the year 1570, a fine was levied, by which the Earl entailed "the Castle and Honour of Arundel; the Hundreds of Poling, Easebourne, Westeaswirth, Avisford, and Rotherbridge; the forest, parks, and manor of Arundel; the park of Batworth; thirty messuages, twenty cottages, two water mills, thirty gardens, thirty orchards, three hundred acres of arable land, three hundred acres of meadow, five hundred acres of pasture, four hundred acres of wood, one thousand acres of furze and heath, five hundred acres of marsh, and £20. from rents in Arundel, Warningcamp and Tortington, together with the rectory of Arundel and its appurtenances," on Lord Lumley and Joan, his wife, for the term of their separate lives, remainder to the lawful heirs of the body of the said Joan, remainder to Philip, son of Mary Duchess of Norfolk, and his heirs.^a The Earl died February 24, 1580. On the same day, a deed was drawn up and signed at Arundel Castle, by which, in consideration of an annuity of £274. 18s. 4d., Lumley, whose wife had already died without issue, conveyed his interest in the entail to the next heir, Philip Howard, Earl of Surrey: a bond for the due performance of the covenant was executed by the latter, in conjunction with Thomas Lord Buckhurst; and that portion of the original Honour, which was thus suffered to remain attached to the Castle, became vested immediately in the family of Howard.^b The other parts

^a Original at Norf. House, Box 7. Bundle A.

^b The Bond is at Norf. House (Sussex. Box 7. Bund. A.² No. 33^a): the deed of conveyance is partly recited in a claim of Lord Lumley's

of the property, including five Hundreds, and several considerable estates, had been granted in fee to Lord Lumley, and by him were either alienated during his life, or bequeathed to his own right heirs. Among the latter was the ancient manor of Stansted.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, was in full possession of the Honour as thus curtailed, in 1588: but, on his attainder, in the following year, it was seized by the Queen, and continued in the hands of the Crown during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. To Thomas, however, the son of Philip, it was restored by King James, in 1604; and from him has descended uninterruptedly, through a line of eight Earls, to its present possessor, Bernard Edward, Earl of Arundel and Duke of Norfolk.—The following are some of the miscellaneous notices relative to the Honour, which still exist.

Miscellaneous
Notices.

“ Sussex:—before the Justices Itinerant (A^o. xi. Joh.
“ 1209.) the Jurors say upon their oath that the tenants
“ of Aldingbourne owe suit to the Hundred of Box,
“ which is in the barony of Arundel; and that the
“ tenants of Amberley owe suit to the Hundred of
“ Bury; that all the tenants of the Bishop of Chichester,

Inter Præcept. de Term. S. Hilar. 23 Eliz. of which there is a copy in Lib. A. fol. 456, at N. House. From this claim, however, it would appear that the sale, at least as regarded the five hundreds mentioned in the text, was afterwards disputed by Lord Lumley, who still asserted his interest in the property. Hence, notwithstanding the grant of James in June 1604, which expressly mentions them, another purchase was effected in the following year; and these hundreds together with that of Bury and a portion of those of Dumpford, Bosham and the Manwood, were conveyed to Edm. Carrill, John Holland and others, in trust for Thomas, Earl of Arundel. The Purchase money was £1600. Pat. 17. Car. II. at Norf. House. Copied in Lib. B. folio 32.

“ of the Manwood, of Aldingbourne and of Amberley
 “ are bound to attend the Sheriff’s Turn at Nomans-
 “ land, there to answer according to the usual customs
 “ of the place : that the tenants of the Dean of Chichester
 “ owe suit to the Hundred of Stockbridge, which is in
 “ the barony of Arundel, and that, if they are there
 “ amerced, the Earl of Arundel receives the fine : lastly,
 “ that all wrecks of the sea whenever and wherever
 “ found upon the coast within the parishes of Goring,
 “ Preston, Cudlow, Middleton, Felpham, Kingston and
 “ the Hamlet of Flansham, belong of right to the Castle
 “ and Honour of Arundel.”^a

At the same period eighty-four Knights’ fees and a half were held of the Honour; and the fines arising from the various Courts appurtenant to it amounted to the sum of £120. per annum.^b

In the twenty-sixth year of Henry the Second (1180), Walter de Constanciis rendered an account to the king of the Honour of Arundel, which, for some unexplained reason, seems at that period to have been in the hands of the crown. The document, which still exists, embraces various objects both of receipt and expenditure; and contains, amongst others, the following not uninteresting particulars. From the rents of manors, which had been farmed by the Justiciary, the accountant, when he made his return, had received £41. 14s. 1d. : from the profits of lands and manors in hand £112. 18s. 4d. : from the rent of land held by Robert Praieres £9. 4s. 0d. : from that of land in Preston occupied by Humfrey de Millers £4. 12s. 0d. : and from messuages in the Borough of

^a MS. Fitzalan, ut Sup. f. 4.

^b Ibid. f. 3.

Arundel 10s. 7*d.*; making a total of £168. 19s. 0*d.* From this sum he had disbursed, under the authority of the king's writ, and with the sanction of Reginald Belhome and Ailevin Wadup (who appear to have been commissioned to survey the buildings) £9. 19s. 5*d.* for the works in Arundel Castle: he had also paid one hundred shillings to Geoffrey Falconer ("Austurcarius") for rent of land in Depemersh, and had expended £72. 7s. 8*d.* in completing the stock on the several manors attached to the Honour.^a This is probably the earliest account of the property that has been preserved.

In the fifty-sixth year of Henry the third (1272), "John Fitzalan held the Castle and Honour of Arundel for the fourth part of one barony. Francis de Bohun held of him three knights' fees, doing suit to the Court of Arundel from three weeks to three weeks, and guarding the Castle for forty days, in the time of war, at his own expense: and Henry de Percy held of him twenty-two other knights' fees by the same service."^b

In an Inquisition held in the reign of Edward the first, "the Jurors say that the king possesses no hundred in Sussex, excepting three (quære four?) which he holds by wardship of Richard, the son and heir of John Fitzalan, and which are worth £3. per annum. They say further that there are six (other) hundreds belonging to the Castle of Arundel, of which Isabella de Albini holds the hundred of Bourne in dower, and derives from it five marks per annum: Matilda de Verdon holds four hundreds in dower, which produce

^a Mag. Rot. 26 Hen. II. Rot. 2, apud Madox, Bar. 71.

^b Esch. 56 Hen. III.

“ a yearly rent of ten marks ; and Isabella de Mortimer
 “ holds the remaining hundred, which is worth forty
 “ shillings.”^a

In Hilary Term, 6 James I. (1609), an information in the nature of a *Quo Warranto* was filed, by the Attorney General, against William Levett, charging him with having unlawfully usurped divers privileges within the town of Petworth, which was parcel of the Honour of Arundel. Levett denied the paramountship of Arundel, and asserted that the town and manor of Petworth had, time out of mind, been parcel of the Honour of Petworth. On this and other points issue was joined by the parties, and a trial before the Judges was ordered, to decide the question. By the crown it was maintained that “ the town of Petworth had an-
 “ ciently been, and still was, parcel of the Honour of
 “ Arundel ; and that the manor of Petworth had been
 “ but a freehold holden of the Honour of Arundel, and
 “ not an Honour of itself, until about the twenty-ninth
 “ of Henry VIII., when Henry, Earl of Northumberland,
 “ granted the same, and all other his lands, unto the
 “ king.” It was argued that, in an ancient survey of the lands belonging to the Earl of Arundel, the hundred of “ Russerburgh ” (Rotherbridge), in which Petworth was situated, was mentioned as a member of the Honour of Arundel ;^b that, in a plea held in the seventh year of Edward the first, it had been decided that “ the town

^a Rot. Ragman, A^o. incerto Ed. I. See Appendix No. I.

^b The Survey here referred to is a MS. formerly belonging to the Royal Society, entitled “ Extenta terrarum Comitum Arundelliarum,” and now in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk. Its identity is evident from the marks described in the pleadings.

“ of Petworth was within the Honour of Arundel ;”^a that the Lords of Petworth had always owed service to that Honour ; and that the court rolls, from the forty-fifth year of Edward the third to the present time, afforded constant evidence of presentations made by the Headboroughs and other officers of Petworth to the courts of Arundel. The documents referred to were then produced ; the statements of the Attorney General were verified, and judgment was at length given, to the effect that “ Petworth was not anciently an Honour “ having hundreds and liberties within itself ; but was “ merely a Town, parcel of and in the hundred of Rother- “ bridge, parcel of the Honour and Manor of Arundel.”^b

From various grants it appears that to the Honour of Arundel formerly belonged the sole return and execution of all writs, &c. within the ten hundreds of Westbourne, Singleton, Esebourne, Box, Stockbridge, Avisford, Westeaswirth, Poling, Rotherbridge and Bury ; the exclusive right of holding the Sheriff’s Turn both in them and in the hundreds of Dumpford, Bosham, and the Manwood ; the view of Frankpledge ; the assise of bread, wine, and ale ; the regulation of weights and measures ; all wreck of the sea ; all waifs, strays, deodands, and treasure-trove ; all fines and amerciements ; and all the goods and chattels of persons convicted as heretics, lollards, traitors, murderers, felons, and outlaws, within its jurisdiction.^c

^a Inter Placit. de Assisis, 7 Ed. I. in quodam Rot. inter Rot. 26 et 27.

^b Brief of Quo Warranto, at Norf. House, inter Acts of Parl. &c. Bund. 4.

^c Original, de A^o. 12 Ed. III. Rot. 50, et 35 Ed. III. Rot. 6. Pat. 1. Mar. p. 2. m. 5. Original de A^o 2 and 3 Phil. and Mar. Rot. 109.

Among the most ancient as well as the most important appendages of the Honour, was the Forest of Arundel. Like all the forests which existed before the formation of that which is still distinguished by the appellation of the "New Forest," its origin has long been forgotten in the remoteness of its antiquity: but it is not improbable that it afforded its amusement to Harold and his father, Godwin, and traced its privileges upwards to the era of the Saxon Kings. Its extent was not inconsiderable. Leaving Fishbourne and the adjoining woods, in the west, its boundary passed eastward to Crocker Hill and Avisford: thence it diverged southward to Cudlow, on the coast, and abruptly changing its course, returned along the river, in a northerly direction, through the marshes of Tortington, ascended the hills behind Arundel, and hastened down the opposite declivity to Houghton and Bury ("Paplesbury"). From that point its progress became westerly. Running through Swanbridge and Berkehale, which are now forgotten, it again climbed the ascent of the downs, till it reached Nomansland. There it turned to the right towards Waltham, crossed the hills to Cocking, North Merdon, and Compton, and, suddenly wheeling to the south, terminated its career in the sea, probably near the entrance of the present Chichester harbour. The circumference thus described could scarcely have measured less than fifty miles. The more ancient limit, however, appears to have been less extensive. The line commenced at Avisford, and was drawn to a place called Chesseharghe, on the south: thence it ran to Molecombe and Wynkings within the precincts of Goodwood; passed to Sunbeche, of which no recollection remains; and finally returned to Crocker Hill.^a

The Fo-
rest.

^a " Les boundes de la fforest d'Arundell boundeyt par xxiiii des mel-

With the rights or immunities appurtenant to the Forest it is unnecessary to detain the reader, because in no instance are they known to have varied from those which were attached to every other similar domain. It possessed its Swainmote and its Woodmote: it had its Justice, and its Warden, its Verderors, and Foresters and Rangers; its pleas were held, and its presentations of “*vert and venison*” were made, in the same manner and with the same effect as in the royal forests. Of the disputes however to which the preservation of its privileges gave occasion a curious instance has been preserved. In 1234, Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel, obtained possession of the estates which he had inherited from his brother ten years before: but a long minority had afforded an opportunity for various encroachments on

“*lours gentz du pays, cest assavoir, Richard Stopham, Gervays de Coleworthe, &c. queux dicont p̄r lour serment que les boundes de mesme la fforest soy atteignent del fforest de Ffyshebourne jesques à Crookerhull, et à Codelawe, et à Ryham, et Avesford, et de illeques come il curt parmiye le maris de Tortynton tanq̄ al Ryver, et dill’ descendant tanq̄ à Hoghton, et dilleoques tanq̄ à Paplesbury, et dilleoques tanq̄ à Swanbrugge, et dilleoques à Berkehale, et dilleoques à Nonemanesland, et dilleoques p̄mie Waltham, et dilleoques à Babele, et dilleoques à Hayham, de Cockinge à Northmerdon, et dilleoques à Compton, et dilleoques tendount les boundes tanq̄ à la meer. Et aultrefoitz ils comensount à Avesfford, et dilleoques à Chesseharghe versus le South, et dilleoques à Molecombe, et dilleoques à Wynkingg, et dilleoques à Sunbeche, et dilleoques à Crockerhull.*” MS. Fitzalan, *ibid.* f. 2.—Presuming on the correctness of the phrase “*descendant tanq̄ à Hoghton*,” I have supposed the boundary to have attained the high ground in its passage from Tortington to Houghton, and have therefore taken it over the hills behind Arundel. It may however be doubted whether it did not follow the more natural route along the river, through the whole distance from Cudlow to Bury.

the property ; and, amongst other portions more particularly exposed to depredation, it was scarcely to be expected that the forest would escape. The attention of the young Earl was soon directed to this subject. It was found that one of the most constant, as well as most formidable trespassers was Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been lately consecrated to that see, and who now resolutely asserted an unlimited right to hunt in any, or in every, forest within the kingdom, at his pleasure. The Earl, it may be imagined, was not disposed to subscribe to this privilege ; and instructions were therefore issued to the Foresters and other officers, enjoining them to prevent the future intrusion of the prelate, and, in case of resistance, to seize whatever dogs might appear upon the ground. The execution of this order of course irritated the Primate. It was declared to be an attack upon the immunities of the Church : its author was denounced as the oppressor of religion ; and a solemn sentence of excommunication was forthwith issued, as the readiest means of convincing the refractory nobleman of his error.^a The experiment however failed. Instead of yielding to the terrors of these spiritual thunders, Arundel at once appealed to the supreme authority at Rome ; and when Edmund arrived at that court, in 1238, to prosecute another suit, he had the mortification to find that his sentence was reversed, and that the expenses of the proceedings, amounting to

^a “ Fuit autem idem Hugo eo tempore (1236) sententiâ excommunicationis innodatus, eo quòd, cum fugare fecisset Archiepiscopus in forestâ dicti Hugonis in Suthsex, idem Hugo canes suos cepit. Dicit autem Archiepiscopus hoc esse jus suum fugandi in quâlibet forestâ Angliæ, quandocumque voluerit.” Lib. Rub. Scacc. f. 232.

no inconsiderable sum, were to be defrayed by him.^a But even this decision failed to terminate the contest. The successor of Edmund still continued to urge, the Earl to resist, the disputed claim: altercation succeeded to altercation, without determining the rights of either party; and more than twenty years elapsed before the question was finally settled. At length the matter was referred to arbitration, and a deed of agreement was drawn up on the award. It secured the forest of Arundel to the Earl and his successors, "free from all persons whatsoever:" but it provided that the Archbishop, on giving due notice to the Constable and Foresters, should, once in the year, in going to and returning from his manor of Slindon, be allowed to hunt with six greyhounds: that, however, neither dogs of other descriptions, nor bows of any kind should be employed on such occasions; and that, if more than one beast were taken by the party, the Archbishop should select the best for himself, and deliver the remainder to the officers of the forest for the use of the Earl. It further stipulated that the Earl and his heirs should annually deliver to the Archbishops of Canterbury thirteen head of deer; and that, in consideration thereof, the latter should acknowledge the exclusive right of the Earls, and relinquish whatever claims they might be supposed to possess on the forest or chases of Arundel. This composition was afterwards submitted to the King, and a charter of confirmation, dated October 16, 1274 (2 Ed. I.), set the matter finally at rest.^b

^a Godwin de Præsul. Ang. 92. Anglia Sacra, I. 10, 349.

^b Cart. 2. Ed. I. which contains an "Inspeximus" of the deed of composition.

The officers of the forest were, of course, nominated by the Earl, or, in case of wardship or escheat, by the crown.^a They held their appointments generally in fee, and, in some instances, probably in all, paid a species of quit rent to the Lord. In the escheat roll of the fifty-sixth year of Henry the third, it is recorded that the keeper of the park and forest-walk of the Ruelle, which formed a particular district in the greater forest, rendered annually a silver cup worth thirteen shillings and fourpence for the possession of his bailiwick, which he held by charter from the Earl.

At what period the tract, over which these officers exercised their jurisdiction, was disafforested is unknown. In the grant of restitution made by James the first to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in 1604, it is mentioned as still existing in its original character: it occurs also in a confirmation of this grant, issued by Charles the first in 1640;^b but it has not been met with in any later document, and was probably laid open either during the Commonwealth, or shortly after the restoration.

^a The Patent 4 Ed. I. m 11. contains an order from the King to the Sheriff of Sussex to remove all the existing Foresters, and to suffer none to remain in that capacity but such as should be appointed by Richard de Heminghale whom Edward, in right of wardship, had lately made chief Warden of the forest.

^b Lib. B. f. 331, 427. at Norf. House.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE CASTLE. BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS—ANTIQUITY OF THE CASTLE—ORIGINAL EXTENT—ADDITIONS TO IT—MILITARY HISTORY—SIEGE IN 164 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Arundel
a British
fortress.

THE existence of Arundel as a place of defence during the earliest periods of our history has long been suspected by those who are acquainted with the character of the spot. Situated, indeed, at the extreme point of an eminence which terminates one of the high and narrow ridges of the South Downs, it not only offers in its position those peculiar advantages of which our British ancestors seldom omitted to avail themselves, but has preserved in its outworks some of those characteristics, which generally distinguish the fortifications of that people. Of these the two immense fosses, with their corresponding embankments, which traverse the ridge from east to west, and divide the hill as it were into three distinct compartments, are the most remarkable. The first, or outermost, crosses the high road about half way up the ascent from the lodge at the "White Ways," sinking, on the east, into the "South Wood," and, on the west, running till it meets the ridge of down which rises on the south side of "Fair-mile Bottom," and then turning northward till it is lost in the entrance of Houghton Forest. By this the communication with the open country was effectually cut off. The second or inner fosse is about a mile and a half nearer to the town. At its eastern extremity, it rises from the stream directly above "Swanbourne Mill," passes behind the

“ Little Park ” which communicates immediately with the keep, and crossing the high road near the present stables of the Castle, descends, on the west, into the marshy grounds near “ Park House.” The space within this line, forming the point of what may be denominated a species of inland promontory, must have been occupied by the ancient fortress, as it still is by the Castle and the town. It was protected on one side by the waters of Swanbourne Lake which filled the valley on the east, on the other by the morass which probably formed a part of the original estuary of the Arun, and in front by the river which still flows beneath it; and viewed in connexion with these natural defences, as well as with the artificial vallations by which its approaches from the north were secured, it will be scarcely possible to resist the evidence which assigns it as a military post to the era of the British kings.

Of its Castle, however, the earliest notice, which has been discovered, occurs in the Domesday Survey. “ In “ the time of King Edward,” says that record, “ the “ Castle of Arundel rendered for a certain mill forty “ shillings, for three “ *conuvia*” twenty shillings, and for “ one pasture twenty shillings. At present, between “ the town and the port and the customs of the shipping, “ it renders twelve pounds, and is worth thirteen.”^a

Antiquity
of its
Castle ;

^a “ *Castrum Harundel T. R. E. reddeb̄ de q^odā molīno XL solīd. “ et de III^{bus} conuviis XX solīd. et de uno pasticio XX solīd. Modo, “ inter Burgū et portū aquæ et consuetudinē naviū, redd̄ XII lib. et “ tamen val̄ XIII lib.”—Domesd. Of the word “ *conuviis*,” no interpretation has hitherto been discovered. It has sometimes been read “ *conviviis*,” and translated “ *feasts* ;” but evidently without much regard to the context. Spelman, under the word “ *pasticium*,” refers the reader to it ; and yet, singularly enough, has forgotten to insert it.*

From this entry it is evident that, previous to the conquest, and so early at least as the reign of the Confessor, the Castle was already in existence:^a yet to whom, or to what precise period, its actual foundation should be assigned, is a question which it would now, perhaps, be impossible to determine. That it was either of Roman or of Danish origin, as sometimes supposed, will scarcely be credited. Of the former it retains no visible traces, if we except the appearance of a few bricks which are somewhat gratuitously imagined to possess the peculiar characteristics of Roman manufacture: of the latter the

^a I have not referred to the circular form of the keep as an argument to confirm the existence of the castle previous to the conquest, because I am aware that some doubts have been started as to the invariable adoption of the square form by the Norman military architects; and, as the entry in Domesday is sufficiently conclusive without the adventitious aid of any corroborative circumstances, I have chosen rather to rely on that alone, than to weaken the force of its evidence by the introduction of a debatable point. At the same time, it is acknowledged that the Norman keeps were *generally* square. Those of London, Rochester, Norwich, Newcastle, and others are of that shape; whilst the few which are allowed to have been of a higher antiquity, such as the curious ruin of Coningsburgh, near Sheffield, and the old keep of Mitford, in Northumberland, unite in claiming the circular as the more ancient form. These facts will at least throw a doubt over the claims of the Normans to the erection of any of the round keeps which remain: and when it is further remembered that, in the comparatively short space of 166 years which elapsed between the death of Alfred and the Norman conquest, it was next to impossible that all the castles, with which, as the reader will presently see, that prince filled the country, could have been destroyed, the conclusion will naturally follow that, in the few instances in which a Norman origin has been attributed to circular buildings of this description, it is more probable that the followers of the Conqueror repaired and extended the old structures which they found, than that they raised new edifices entirely from the foundations.

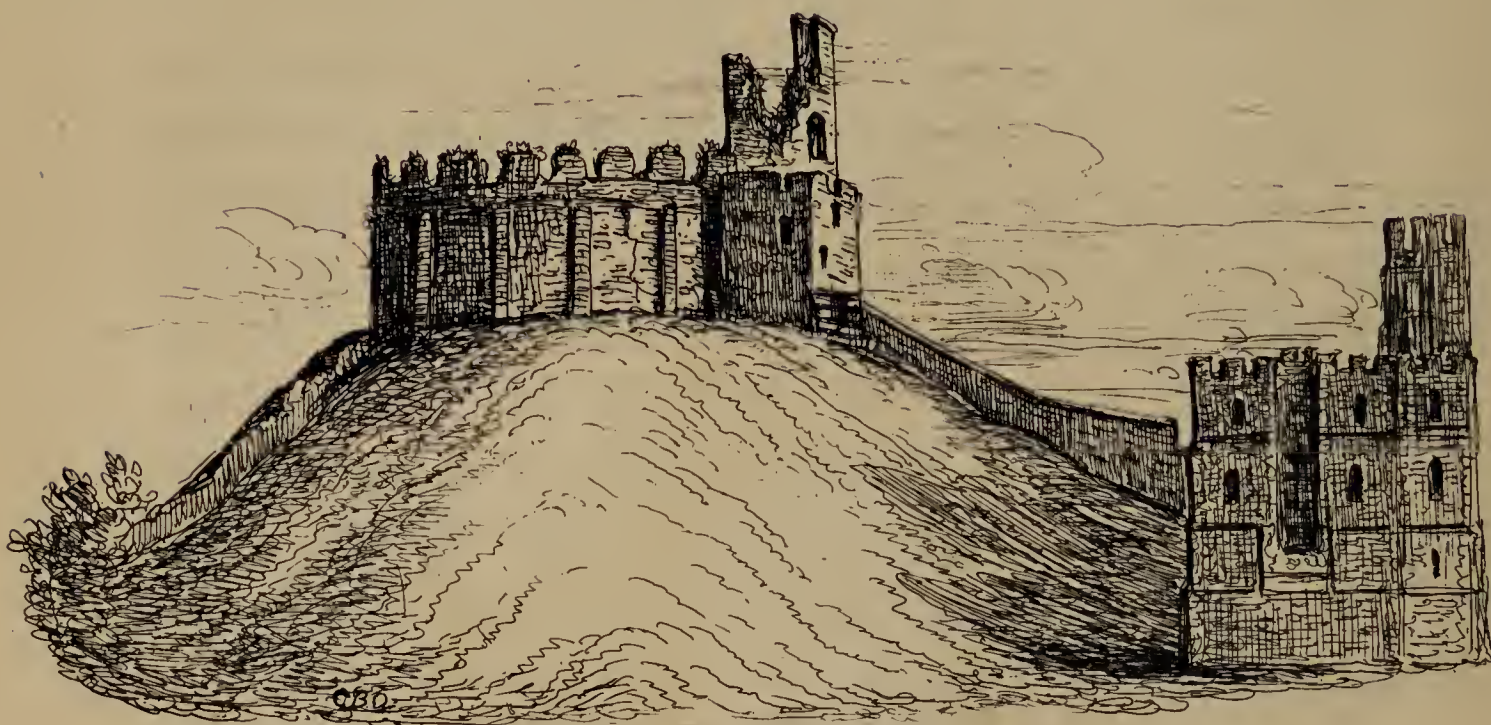
evidences, which are even more equivocal, amount to little beyond the vagueness of an arbitrary conjecture: whilst the importance of the place, coupled with the total silence of Asser, who is exact in particularizing the various castles erected or possessed by the northern invaders,^a offers at least a negative argument in disproof of the assumption. A more probable supposition will perhaps refer the building to the age of Alfred, and to the genius of that monarch. Before his time, the architecture of the Saxons was confined solely to ecclesiastical purposes. The houses even of their princes were of wood; and the fortifications of their most important towns were nothing more than loose ramparts of stones heaped together in the manner of the Britons. Even so late as the year 867, when the Danish army took possession of York, we are informed that the walls of that city were still in the same rude condition.^b But the industry of Alfred succeeded in awakening the indolence of his subjects, and leading them to the improvement of their domestic and military architecture. Under his directions, the wooden hovels of his ancestors gave way to palaces of stone: cities were built and fortified; surveys were made of the coasts and navigable rivers, with a view to protect the country on its most accessible parts; and castles were erected in every place which appeared best fitted to prevent the landing, or arrest the progress, of an enemy. There is reason to believe that before his death he had the satisfaction to see more than fifty of these military defences completed according to his directions: and considering, therefore,

Built
probably
by King
Alfred.

^a Annal. 168, 172, et passim.

^b Asser, Annal. 159.

that Arundel was one of his own residences, looking at the strength of its situation, its proximity to the coast, and its commanding position on the banks of the river, we can hardly suppose that it was overlooked in the general plan, or that it was left without the protection, which was given to other less advantageous spots.^a



THE KEEP IN 1780

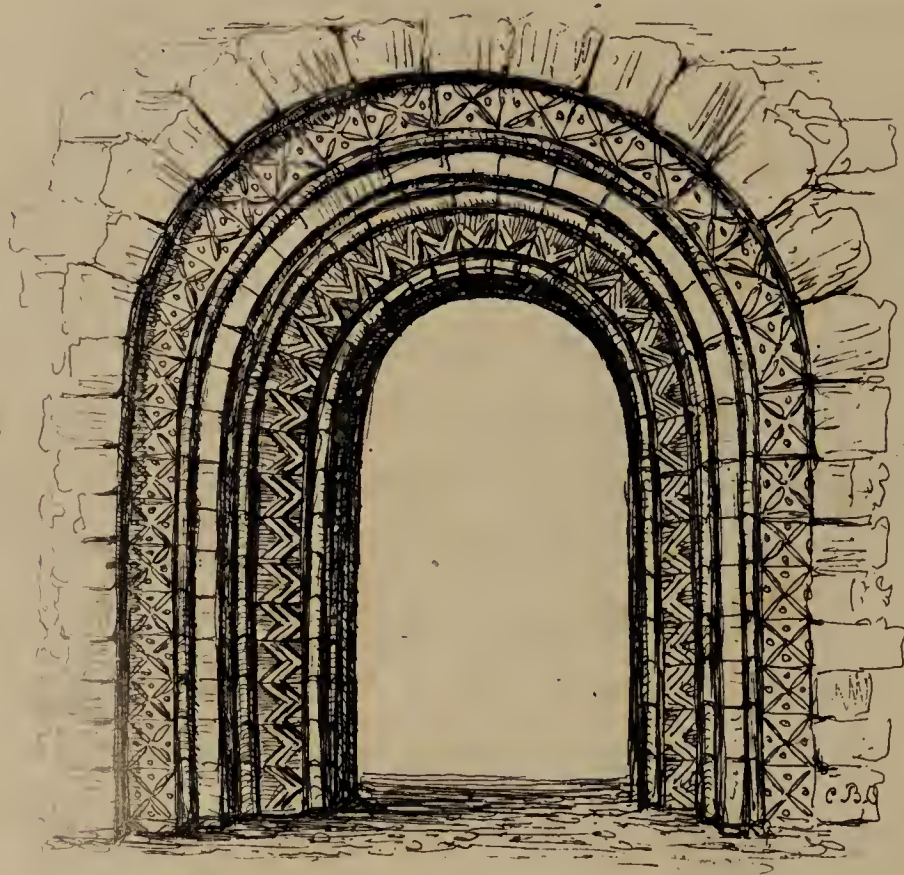
Its original
extent.

But to whatever age the foundation may be assigned, it is evident that the Keep alone, of all that remains, could have existed at the period of the conquest: it is more than probable that, with the exception of the outer

^a Asser, Vita Alfred. 17, 18. Spelman, Vit. Alf. 129. Among the few castles built by Alfred, whose situations are still known, was one at Alfriston, in Sussex, (Spelman, *ibid*). This was undoubtedly Burlow Castle, a part of whose foundations still remain on an eminence east of the village of Alfriston.—Horsfield's *Environs of Lewes*, p. 8.

rampart, it comprised the whole of the Saxon fortification. The situation was admirably selected for defence. On the summit, at the southern extremity of the hill, a strong wall was raised, by which an oblong space, measuring 950 feet in length by an average of 250 feet in breadth, and containing about five acres and a half of ground, was enclosed. The hill falling away precipitously to a depth of about ninety feet, on the north-east and south-east, left the fortress in those directions inaccessible; whilst a deep fosse on the remaining sides, protected still further to the north by the double vallation already mentioned, cut off the communication in those quarters, and effectually secured the garrison against the sudden incursions of an enemy. In the middle of the area thus fortified rose the Keep, a circular building of enormous strength, erected on an artificial mount thrown up for the purpose, and commanding the adjacent country in every direction. The perpendicular height of this mount on the external side was seventy-six feet from the bottom of the fosse: on the inner side it was sixty-nine: and thus, with the addition of the walls and battlements, which were about twenty-seven more, made a total elevation, on the west of one hundred and three, and on the east of ninety-six feet. The thickness of the walls varied from eight to ten feet, and the circular, or nearly circular, space which they included, having a diameter in one direction of fifty-nine, and in another of sixty-seven feet, was devoted to the accommodation of the garrison. The apartments, as appears from the corbel stones which still remain, were ranged round the walls, receiving their light from within, and converging towards the centre which was uncovered.

There were neither loops nor other openings in the masonry; and the only part of the fortress, therefore, from which an enemy could be annoyed, was from the ramparts. The well, if it then existed, was without the enclosure, on the south side, and was accessible, as at a later period, through a door-way in the wall, and by a flight of steps on the exterior of the Keep. Of the original entrance and approach no traces have been discovered.



NORMAN DOORWAY IN THE KEEP.

It is repaired and enlarged by Earl Roger,

Such then in all probability was the castle to which Domesday has referred, and which Roger Montgomery obtained from the Conqueror, in the year 1070. That its inferiority in point of defence to the military structures of the Normans, joined, perhaps, with the dila-

pidated condition of the buildings, would suggest the necessity of repairs and improvements is not unlikely: and accordingly we are told, what the architecture itself sufficiently confirms, that one of the first cares of the new proprietor was to restore and extend the fortifications of the place. To the exterior of the walls he added a case or facing composed of small square blocks of Caen stone, at the same time strengthening the edifice by means of numerous broad flat buttresses resembling pilasters, and opening or remodelling the entrance which is still visible on the south-east side of the Keep. It is a wide semi-circular archway cut through the solid wall, ornamented on the inner side with a plain torus moulding, and terminated on the outer by a smaller arch richly carved with the chevron, and other ornaments which were commonly used in the latter part of the eleventh century. Another archway of similar form but smaller dimensions, with facings wholly unadorned, and corresponding exactly with those of the great Gateway, which will be presently mentioned, is still remaining on the south side, and was evidently formed at the same period. It served as a passage to the steps of the well, which, from the appearance of the Keep itself in the part within the present well-tower, seems to have been still left as an external appendage to the fortress.



NORMAN GATEWAY.

Who
builds the
Gatehouse,

But the principal improvements made by Earl Roger were in the area beneath the Keep; and of these the most conspicuous at the present day is the great Gatehouse already alluded to. It is a square tower standing on an arched way which forms the approach to the enclosed space from without, and communicating with the Keep by a raised passage carried across the ditch, and terminated by a flight of steep steps. The upper part of the tower, which is certainly not older than the latter end of the thirteenth century, may be said to be of comparatively modern construction: but the lower portion, comprising the whole of the covered way, con-

tinues in its original state, and offers a beautiful specimen of Norman taste. The arch, like that of Bigod's tower, in Norwich Castle, is circular, of the form which characterizes the Roman arch, without a keystone, and totally devoid of ornament. Along the front and side of each quoin, however, immediately below the spring of the arch, a bold but simple square moulding, with the under part chamfered off, passes horizontally, and relieves the otherwise naked surface of the structure. The arch, as well as all that remains of the ancient front of the tower, is formed of square blocks of Pulborough stone, cut with tolerable exactness, and still preserving at the angles much of their original sharpness. A portcullis was formerly placed at the outer end of the passage; and this, it is probable, was still further strengthened by the additional security of a drawbridge over the fosse, which passed immediately beneath it.

Another part of the castle which appears to be indebted for its origin to Earl Roger is the Barbican, generally known as Bevis's Tower.^a It stands on the

The
Barbican,

^a The names of Bevis and his horse "Hirondelle" are familiar to the readers of Romance. Of the connexion, however, of that fabulous personage with the castle of Arundel it were difficult to trace the origin; though there can be little doubt that it existed from a very early period. At the bottom of a valley called "Pugh Dean," which is now enclosed within the park, is a low oblong mound resembling a raised grave in its form, and known in the tradition of the neighbourhood as Bevis's burial place. It is about six feet wide, and not less than thirty feet long: it is accompanied by several smaller but similar mounds; and though peculiar in its shape as compared with the Roman and other tumuli which have been examined at different times, has nevertheless much of a sepulchral character in its appearance. It was lately opened to a depth of several feet, but nothing was dis-

north-west side of the ditch which surrounds the Keep, at the point where it enters the external fosse, and notwithstanding the ravages of time and war, retains many of the characteristic features of Norman architecture. It is an oblong tower, originally of considerable elevation, and supported by an immense buttress at each of the angles. In the siege of 1643-4, the upper part was destroyed, and the present temporary roof was afterwards supplied.

And the
Eastern
Tower.

To the repairs and improvements thus ascribed to Earl Roger another, and ultimately a more important, alteration in the extent of the Castle may also be added. Though it is generally acknowledged that the Eastern tower is the oldest part of what, for the sake of distinction, may be termed the present Castle, yet no attempt has hitherto been made to assign to it any precise date; whilst the adjoining buildings on the south-east side of the structure, fronting the river, have been positively referred to the middle of the fourteenth century. The edifice, however, still retains sufficient evidences to prove that both these and the tower are of the earliest Norman period, and that on every ground of probability they may claim an origin contemporary with the other erections of Earl Roger. Of these evidences the most curious, as well as the most striking, is the immense vault

The an-
cient
Prison.

covered in it. In the middle, however, at the bottom, to which the ground was originally made to shelve from each end, a level space of about six feet in length had been left, as if for the reception of a deposit: and as the lightness of the soil above seemed to indicate that it had been recently moved, it is not impossible, or indeed improbable, that this deposit may have rewarded the labours of some former antiquarian, more fortunate than those who were engaged in the late excavation.

under the east end of the building, at present used as one of the cellars of the Castle. It is entered through a plain circular arch, or door-way, which may be described as embedded in another and a larger arch of the same form, from whose outer surface it recedes about six inches. The arch at the further end of the passage leading from the Keep into the well-tower is exactly similar to this. The vault itself is oblong, measuring sixty-six feet in length, by twenty feet ten inches in breadth, and rising to a height of fourteen feet ten inches at the under side of the segment of its arch. The vaultings are circular, formed of square blocks of chalk, and strengthened by four immense transverse ribs of stone of a semioctagonal shape. The several walls vary in thickness. Those on the north-east and south-east sides, which are external, measure, the former seven feet two inches, the latter six feet five inches : that on the north-west, which now separates the vault from the gallery on the ground-floor of the Castle, is little more than four feet nine inches. In the last, however, besides the entrance, there are also two narrow round-headed windows, by which the vault was formerly lighted, and which induce something more than a suspicion that this also was originally an external wall facing the interior of the court-yard. Such is the curious, but dismal chamber, which, we are told, was the ancient prison of the Castle. To it were brought not only the military captives of the Earls, but also every civil delinquent within the extensive liberties of the Earldom. The custody of the offender, in fact, no less than the cognizance of the offence, was numbered among the privileges of the Honour : and though the varied wretchedness which must ever be associated

with a prison-house, though the wailings of sorrow and the shriek of despair, which must at times have rung from this dreary abode upon the ear of its lord, might be thought to have made the charge as odious as it was painful, yet that peculiarity in the habits or manners of the age, which rendered men callous to such impressions, seems to have operated so powerfully, that, instead of being deprecated or shunned, the unfeeling privilege was anxiously and eagerly courted. The truth is that the right was a matter both of profit and of power. The authority which it conferred was backed by the emolument which it produced; and hence any attempt to infringe it, either by retaining an offender in another jurisdiction, or committing him to one of the royal prisons, was sure to be met by immediate and resolute resistance. Two instances of this are recorded at the latter end of the thirteenth century, of which one may here be shortly recited. Gerard of Petworth, the bailiff of Eleanor Percy, had arrested five persons; but, instead of delivering them, on the following day, to the Constable of Arundel Castle, had kept them for some time in his own custody, and had afterwards transferred them to the gaol at Guildford. This violation of the liberties of the Earldom of Arundel soon became the subject of judicial investigation. On enquiry before a jury, it was found that the Earl by this proceeding had been defrauded of several shillings, and measures were therefore adopted not only to prevent a repetition of the offence, but to compel the offender to refund the money, which he had thus improperly diverted from its legal claimant.^a

^a Plac. Coron. 7 Ed. 1. inter rot. 26. & 27. A curious instance of escape from this prison, as connected with the law of Sanctuary, is



S. E. FRONT IN 1780.

It has been said that the portion of the building on the south-east side of the Castle looking to the river The South-east Front.

recorded in Bishop Rede's Register as having occurred in the year 1404. A person named John Mot had been apprehended and committed on a charge of robbery; but having contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers, had passed the enclosure of the Castle, and had nearly succeeded in securing his retreat, when his flight became known, and the constable, accompanied by a party of the inhabitants, followed in pursuit. Finding that he was likely to be overtaken, the fugitive turned to the college, and seizing the ring which was attached to the gate, claimed the rights of Sanctuary. The constable, however, appears to have doubted the validity of the claim, and the captive was once more conveyed to his prison. But rumours of the occurrence soon began to spread through the neighbourhood: it was reported that the immu-

was the work of Earl Roger, and the vault already mentioned, which extends a considerable distance beneath it, shews that it must at least have been contemporary with the tower which it adjoins. There are however other evidences; and the strict similarity of the masonry to that which distinguishes the outer facing of the Keep, as well as the remains of some double round-headed windows which are still visible in the walls, and which exactly correspond with the double arches in the second story of the transept of Winchester Cathedral, built by Walkelin, the cousin of the Conqueror, before 1093, not only confirms the opinion which assigns this part of the structure to the follower of William, but proves

unities of the Church, and the law of Sanctuary had been violated; and two of the parties, who had aided the constable in securing the offender, were summoned before the Bishop to answer in person to the charge. On their examination, they acknowledged that they had assisted in conducting the culprit back to his confinement, but pleaded that they had been actuated solely by the motive of defending the constable from his violence. This, however, was no mitigation of their offence. An oath was first exacted from them that they would comply with whatever penance should be enjoined them: they were then ordered to make a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of St. Richard at Chichester, to present an offering there according to their ability, to be cudgelled (*fustigati*) five times through the church of Arundel, and afterwards to recite the "Pater noster" the "Ave" and the Creed, the same number of times, upon their knees, before the Crucifix at the high altar. Before this sentence, however, was carried into execution, it was ascertained that, on discovery of the error which had been committed, the captive had been "restored to the church." The cudgelling was therefore ordered to be remitted, and an offering of a burning taper to be made by each of the parties at the high mass on the following Sunday, in the collegiate chapel, was substituted in its place. Regist. R. f. 106^b.

moreover that the edifice must have extended, even at that time, at least as far as the ancient Chapel. Of the The Chapel. date of the Chapel itself there are no means of forming a conjecture. It was the room which is now known as the Dining-room, and was, in its original state, a plain oblong apartment, forty feet three inches in length, by twenty-two feet ten inches in breadth, with the altar placed against the wall of the projecting square tower which is still seen on the south-east side of the Castle. The alterations, however, effected in this tower by the late Duke of Norfolk have so entirely effaced its ancient character, that nothing now remains to indicate the age to which it belongs. It is known only that, next to the buildings already mentioned, the chapel is the oldest part of the Castle. So early as 1275 it was already in existence. Richard Fitzalan was then a minor, and a patent, issued in that year, informs us that the King, in right of the wardship which he possessed, presented to "the chapel of St. George within the Castle of Arundel."^a From that period, it continued to be used as the private oratory of the family, until the late Duke, in pursuance of his architectural designs, converted it to its present purpose.

^a Pat. 3 Ed. I. m. 30. vel 31.



OUTER GATEWAY.

Earl
Richard
builds the
outer
Gateway ;

The next addition to the Castle was the outer Gateway, which is connected with the inner, or Norman one already described, and was built about the close of the thirteenth century. In the concluding chapter of the present work, the reader will have occasion to see that, in the year 1295, Richard Fitzalan, the third Earl of his family, obtained a patent authorizing him to strengthen the defences of the town by enclosing it on the exposed sides with walls: and it is tolerably evident from the style of the architecture that he availed himself of the same opportunity to rebuild the upper part of the old Gatehouse, and enlarge it on the west by the erection of an external Gateway. The latter is a long covered pas-

sage, approached originally by a drawbridge over the fosse, and entered through an obtusely pointed arch, without machicolations, but defended by a portcullis, and flanked by two square embattled towers. The towers themselves are equally divided into four stories of apartments, of which the lowest, anciently appropriated as dungeons, are sunk to a depth of nearly fifteen feet below the bottom of the fosse, and are entirely dark. The upper rooms are each lighted on the two outer sides by a narrow label-headed window. A chamber, which extends over the whole space of the covered way, and communicates at the south-west corner with one of these apartments, still remains perfect, and is accessible by a spiral stone staircase from the passage below.—The Sally-port, which opens into the ditch behind one of the towers, is still visible in the north wall of the archway.

Contemporary with this building were the foundation of the Well-tower and the construction of the present entrance to the Keep. The former is a square structure raised over the old well, and originally divided into several stories of apartments, each lighted by two label-headed windows exactly similar to those which distinguish the Gatehouse. These windows are one evidence that the tower was an addition to the old building: another is discovered in the fact that its walls are not incorporated with those of the Keep, and that its east side is absolutely erected against one of the buttresses of its more ancient neighbour. It was originally of considerable elevation; but having manifested symptoms of decay, the upper part was taken down towards the close of the last century, and the rubbish was thrown into the well.

And the
Well-
tower;

Forms the
present
entrance
to the
Keep;

The present entrance to the Keep is in the square tower which immediately adjoins the latter on the east side. Unlike its predecessor which spread its broad and unsheltered front to the approach of an enemy, its narrow pointed arch is concealed beneath the dark projection of the tower, which seems to advance for the purpose of protecting it; whilst the portcullis which once closed its approach, and the winding of the steep ascent which conducts to it, must not only have strengthened the position of the garrison, but effectually secured it against the efforts of an assailing force. The tower itself, which in reality is nothing but a continuation of the Well-tower, is curiously contrived. Its eastern wall is built against the old Norman door-way, in such manner as to include within it about one third of the open space of the arch. Parallel with this wall, on the inner side, another wall is erected at a distance of about three feet, forming a long narrow slit within the tower, which, by means of the enclosed portion of the ancient arch, communicates directly with the interior of the Keep. Over this space, which is covered, is placed a sort of stone funnel, somewhat resembling a chimney, which issues into a chamber above; and immediately below, at the foot of the outer wall, is a small pointed arch just high enough to admit a person on his hands and knees. This arch, of which there are other examples in the castles of the middle ages, was intended to answer the purpose either of a sally-port, or of a private entrance to the fortress. Scarcely rising above the ground, it escaped observation, and enabled a person to disappear almost as if he had sunk into the earth; whilst, in case of discovery and an attempt on the part of an enemy to force a passage by

this opening, the funnel above could pour down its molten lead, or other deadly materials, on the heads of the assailants, and effectually bar their progress to the interior. The arch, which has long been concealed by the accumulated soil, has been lately re-opened; but the communication between the passage and the Keep is partially closed.



THE KEEP FROM THE CASTLE YARD.

Over the entrance was placed the ancient chapel, or oratory of the garrison; and the addition of the Entrance-Tower enabled Earl Richard to extend its space, by bringing it forward into the new building. One of its windows, mantled with ivy, still looks down upon the castle below,—but it is all that remains to mark the hallowed spot which it formerly lighted. The Chapel was dedicated to St. Martin, and, together with that of

And
makes
other ad-
ditions.

St. George, which has already been mentioned, will be noticed among the ecclesiastical foundations of the town.

In the centre of the area within the Keep, is a subterraneous chamber, measuring fifteen feet four inches in length by ten feet in breadth, to which the descent is by a flight of steps from the open space above. Its roof is pointed, formed of chalk, and strengthened by ribs of stone; the doorcase is distinguished by the flat label head which is observable in the windows of the Gatehouse; and the whole is evidently contemporary with that structure. It has been imagined that this room served as the entrance to some secret passage, by which egress from the fortress might be obtained. A careful examination, however, both of the walls and of the ground has satisfactorily shewn that no such outlet ever existed, and that the excavation in question, instead of leading to any concealed object, never in fact extended beyond its present limits. It was probably destined to receive the stores of the garrison.

Of the towers, which were formerly ranged at equal distances round the enclosed space beyond the Keep, all, with the exception of the Barbican, seem to have been erected at this period. They were four in number, corresponding in form with those of the outer Gateway, and communicating with each other by means of a walk along the ramparts. They were all dismantled in the last siege: but the ruins still retain several of the label-headed windows which characterize the buildings of Earl Richard; and two sally-ports evidently of the same age, one on the north-east, the other on the south-west side of the enclosure, may yet be seen perfect in the exterior of the walls.



DOORWAY TO THE ANCIENT HALL.

The ancient Hall, with its appendant buildings on the south-west side of the great area of the castle, was the next addition to the splendour of the edifice. It was in the style which prevailed during the reign of Edward the third, and was erected by Richard Fitzalan, the grandson of the Earl by whom the former improvements were made. The entrance was from the court, through a deep pointed door-way under a projecting porch, which, as well as the chamber above and its plain gable front, was remaining so late as 1806. The hall itself was wholly destroyed during the siege of 1643-4; and of its interior embellishments, therefore, we can only form a conjecture from the probability of its having resembled Eltham, Westminster, and other similar structures of the fourteenth century. The exterior of the building, however, was partly drawn by Hollar, in 1642, and with

The Great
Hall.

its embattled gables, its large window at the south-east end, and its lantern on the roof, similar to that on Westminster Hall, presents a conspicuous object in that artist's engraved view of the town.



N.E. WING IN 1780.

The
North-
east Wing.

The wing on the north-east side, where the present Library is seen, was the last portion of the castle that was erected, and, besides a splendid Gallery of 121 feet in length by fourteen in width, latterly contained the apartments which were principally inhabited. The character of its architecture was that which distinguished the reign of Henry the Eighth, a circumstance that proves it to have been built either by William, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1544, or by his successor Henry, the last Earl of the family of Fitzalan. The latter,

indeed, has been pronounced to be its founder, and the ruins of the neighbouring college are said to have furnished the materials for its construction : but the equivocal testimony afforded by the appearance of a few fragments of tabernacle work in the walls will scarcely be deemed sufficient of itself to establish this fact ; whilst the argument derived from the existence of a room called the “ *Percy’s Hall*,” is only calculated to shew the uncertain reliance which can be placed even on the most plausible conjectures. Alan Percy was the last Master of the College of the Holy Trinity at Arundel. He was also the maternal uncle of Earl Henry, and it has therefore been imagined that, on the surrender of the college, and its almost immediate annexation to the Earldom, the apartment designated as the “ Percy’s Hall” was “ prepared for his reception.” Nothing certainly can appear more probable than this idea ; yet nothing in reality can be less in accordance with the fact. Of Percy’s retreat after the suppression of the college we have no information. He may have withdrawn to Petworth, the seat of his family, or he may have found an asylum within the Castle of Arundel : but the “ Percy’s Hall” must claim an origin perhaps as remote as the reign of Stephen, certainly as early as that of the first Edward ; and if, therefore, any part of the new buildings were ever known by that appellation, which however is highly questionable, it is certain that the name must have been transferred from some more ancient, and for its purpose probably less suitable, apartment. The proof of this has been preserved in a curious document, to which the reader has already been referred in the preceding chapter,—the pleadings in a case of Quo Warranto filed by

The
“ Percy’s
Hall.”

the Attorney General, in Hilary term, 1609. In the course of the proceedings instituted on that occasion, a record, exemplified under the seal of the Exchequer, in 1279, the seventh year of Edward the first, was produced, and from that it appeared that there was then, as there continued to be at the period of the trial, “a place
“ within the Castle of Arundell called “Percy’s Hall”
“ (where,” says the document, “in the glass windows is
“ the blew lyon, parcel of the arms of the Earls of
“ Northumberland) where, in the time of warr, they,
“ amongst others that held of the said castle, were to
“ do their service for forty days at their own charge (if
“ they stayed longer, then at the charges of the Earl of
“ Arundell); and likewise a meadow near the said
“ Castle which is likewise called ‘Percy’s Mead,’ allowed
“ for the provision of his horses, that he holdeth at this
“ day, and nothing else in Arundell.”^a Hence it would appear that the “Percy’s Hall” was as ancient as the military service by which the Percys were connected with the Castle; that its name bore no reference to the Master of the College; and that, in all probability, it was situated, not in the north-east wing, but in one of the oldest parts of the structure.—The Gallery, which has already been mentioned, was on the first floor, and was lighted by eight windows looking into the court. All that now remains of this wing is represented in the vignette opposite.

^a Brief of Quo Warranto, at Norf. House, Lib. A. fol. 220.



REMAINS OF THE N.E. WING.

The buildings thus described formed the whole of the castle, as it stood at the commencement of the seventeenth century. Whilst the edifice, however, had been gradually approaching its completion, the events, of which it was not unfrequently the theatre, had been lending an additional celebrity even to its other fame. More than once it had been honoured by the temporary residence of the sovereign. In 1097, William Rufus landed at Arundel on his return from Normandy, and celebrated his Easter at the Castle:^a in 1302, Edward the first was sojourning within its walls;^b and, if we may judge from the known existence of an apart-

Military
History of
the Castle.

^a Brompton, 994.

^b Pat. 30 Ed. I. m. 9. is dated at Arundel.

ment called "the king's chamber," it is not improbable that the same distinction was in after times frequently conferred upon it. Its military history is introduced by the revolt of Robert Belesme, in 1102. It was the first of the many fortresses which that nobleman fortified, to protect himself from the vengeance of Henry the first: it was the first also against which the royal arms were directed. The strength of the place rendered its possession an object of importance. Preparations on the most extensive scale were made by Henry for its investment; and machines of various descriptions were erected for the annoyance of the besieged, and the security of the besiegers as they advanced.^a Three months were consumed without producing any effect. At length Belesme, who was superintending the defence of Shrewsbury, was compelled to surrender himself to the king, and the castle capitulated without having suffered any material injury.^b

It is besieged by Henry I.

Again by King Stephen;

The arrival of the Empress Matilda in England, during the summer of 1139, is mentioned by almost all our historians. From the contradictory nature of the evidence, it is difficult to say precisely where she landed; but all seem to agree that she retired immediately to an asylum in Arundel. The castle was then in the possession of Adeliza, the widow of Henry the first, and the step-mother of the Empress: its gates were readily thrown open for her reception, and preparations were made for a vigorous defence. In a few days, Stephen appeared beneath the walls. He had been engaged in

^a "Cum difficile esset expugnatum, castellum aliud ligneum contra illud construxit." M. Paris, 49.

^b Orderic, 806-808. . Annal. Waverl. 143. Simeon Dunelm. 227.

prosecuting the siege of Marlborough ; but, on receiving the intelligence of Matilda's arrival, had hastily summoned some additional forces, and proceeded to attack her in her retreat. The spirit with which he pushed his operations alarmed the princesses. The queen by messengers endeavoured to pacify his resentment : she pleaded in excuse for her conduct the ties of relationship and the duties of hospitality ; assured him that she had received the Empress, not as the enemy of his crown, but as a royal guest and the daughter of her late husband ; and requested that, to remove all suspicion of her intention, Matilda might be allowed to leave the castle, and retire to the protection of her brother. Stephen, in the infatuation of the moment, acceded to the proposal. The siege was immediately raised, and the Empress proceeded to join her adherents at Bristol.^a

Such is the story which has been frequently told and generally received. One writer has even assured us that the impolitic conduct of Stephen on this occasion was nothing more than what the laws of chivalry required from every true knight.^b Yet the contemporary historian of that monarch has transmitted to us a less romantic narrative. He tells us that the real motive of the king's proceeding was a notion of erroneous policy : that the advice of some treacherous counsellors, and not any message from Adeliza, induced him to retire : that the castle was represented to him as absolutely impregnable ; and that he was in reality led to believe that, in suffering Matilda to escape from Arundel, and to join her brother, he should shut up the whole force of his opponents in

^a Malmsbury in Savile's Collection, 184. Gervase, 1349.

^b Malmsb. *ibid.*

one corner of the kingdom, and thus be enabled more easily to extinguish the war. In this account, the reader will at least perceive a motive, intelligible though mistaken, for what has frequently been celebrated as the mere chivalrous generosity of Stephen.^a

And lastly
by Sir W.
Waller.

But it was in the tumultuous period of the seventeenth century that the castle obtained the greatest, and at the same time the most melancholy, portion of its military fame. It had now been completed for more than one hundred years, and during that space, as well as during the four preceding ages, had been the constant, and in general the peaceful habitation of its lords. Its magnificence too was answerable to the importance of its character. Whilst the edifice had been extending its limits on each side, the splendour of its internal decorations had been gradually encreasing. The successive refinements of each generation were added to its conveniences or its embellishments: curtains of the richest silk enclosed the beds; superb suits of tapestry clothed the walls and adorned the chambers with their various devices; carpets from Turkey were spread upon the floors; and cushions of velvet or of satin every where invited the passing guest to repose upon their embroidered

^a *Gesta Stephani*, apud Duchesne, 947. Huntingdon says, “*Quam (Imperatricem) cum rex obsedisset apud Arundel, vel perfida credens consilia, vel quia castrum videbat inexpugnabile, ire permisit ad Bristow.*” 389. See also Brompton, 1030. I have not noticed the story of a conspiracy said to have been formed at Arundel Castle, in 1397, for the purpose of dethroning King Richard the Second, because to me it is evident that no such conspiracy ever existed. The reader will see the grounds of my opinion at the close of the life of Richard, the fourteenth Earl of Arundel.

surface.^a Such was the castle at the opening of the seventeenth century: such might it still, perhaps, have remained, perfect in its ancient form, and altered only in its inferior appendages, had not the violence of civil discord intervened to destroy its glories, and reduce the most venerable portion of its fabric to a ruin. But it was a fortress of too much importance to be overlooked in the struggle which convulsed the reign of Charles. Its owner, moreover, was abroad, and its possession, therefore, more naturally became the subject of dispute between the contending parties. It seems, in the first instance, to have fallen into the hands of the Parliamentary forces: but of the time when they obtained it, or of the period during which they continued to hold it, no intelligence has been preserved. Before the end of the year 1643, however, the royalists had determined, if possible, to dispossess their opponents: a message from several gentlemen of Sussex was forwarded to Lord Hopton, describing the state of the fortress, and requesting his assistance in recovering it: the matter was debated before the king, who assented to the enterprise; and Hopton himself hastened from Winchester, which had just surrendered to him, and invested the Castle with a powerful force. Had the supply of provisions and the experience of the officers been answerable to the strength of the place, it might, in the opinion of Lord Clarendon, have made a successful resistance. But the Governor was a man who had seldom been “accustomed to the prospect of an enemy;” the garrison were few, undisciplined, and ill-provided; and the castle

1643.
Dec. 6.

^a For an Inventory of the furniture contained in the Castle, in 1580, see Appendix, No. II.

Dec. 9. accordingly, after a short summons, surrendered to the royal arms on the third day. The first care of Hopton was to place it in a posture of defence. Provisions of every description were laid in; and a garrison of more than two hundred disciplined men, with officers of sound experience, was committed to the government of Colonel Sir Edward Ford, the High Sheriff of the County. Hopton himself, at the end of five or six days, returned to his head-quarters at Winchester.^a

The celerity of the royal general's movements, and the facility with which he had accomplished the reduction of the place, had rendered it impossible for the parliament to remit any timely succour to the besieged. Sir W. Waller too, whose troops lay in Hampshire, had found it necessary to repair to London for the purpose of demanding reinforcements; and before he could return to his head-quarters at Farnham, Hopton had rejoined the royal army at Winchester. But, though circumstances had prevented an effort to save the Castle from surrender, it was not likely that it would be finally abandoned without a struggle. On the very morning after his arrival at Farnham, Waller succeeded in surprising a party of the king's troops in the town of Alton. The horse escaped: but a regiment of infantry, under the command of Colonel Bowles, sought refuge in the church, and after a resolute resistance was compelled to yield. Trusting to the effect which this loss was calculated to produce both on the strength and the spirits of the royalists, the parliamentary General at once determined to attempt the recovery of Arundel.^b

^a Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebell. II. 362-364.

^b Clarend. II. 364, 365.

From Farnham he crossed the country through Haslemere and Midhurst: a severe frost had hardened the roads, which otherwise would have been impassable; and on the evening of the third day, Tuesday, December 19, 1643, he sat down before the Castle.—The following papers, written by persons present at the siege, are almost the only contemporary documents which remain; and, therefore, though they have already been published in Mr. Dallaway's work, the reader will not, perhaps, be displeased at their appearance in this place.

A Letter from Sir W. Waller to the House of Lords, without date; but read in the House Dec. 22, 1643.

“ MY LORDS,

According to your commandes, I advanced the last Lord's day from Farnham towards this place. I could not reach that night past Haslemere: the next day I marched to Cowdray, where we understanding there were four troopes of horse, and one hundred foote, I resolved to give them the good night; and, to that end, I despatched away two regiments of horse to lay the passage round: but they were too nimble for me, and escaped hither, where I overtook them on Tuesday night. The next morning, after we had taken a view, and found out a place where we might flank their line with our ordnance, we fell on upon the north side of the workes; and we did so scower a weedy hill in the parke, on the west side of the pond, with our pieces, that we made it too hot for them, which gave such courage to our men that with the same breath they assaulted an intrenchment newly cast up, and which was very strong. It was drawn from the town gate

down to the aforesaid pond near the hill.^a At the same time we fell on a narrow passage near the mill, where they had likewise a double work, and very strong: but in a short time, by the good hand of God, we forced both, and entered the town with our horse and foote, notwithstanding a brave salley made by their horse. We beat them into the castle, and entered the first gate with them: the second they made good and barricadoed; and they are there welcome to stay. I am resolved to block them up, for I know they are in a necessitous condition. God hath been pleased to blesse me hitherto with a gracious successe, his great and holy name be prayed for it: but truely, my Lords, I am very weak in foote, and my horse so hackneyed out that they are ready to lye down under us. I expect Colonel Behre and Colonel Morley here this day.”

“ A full relation of the late proceedings, victory, and good success (through God’s providence) obtained by the Parliament forces under Sir William Waller, at the taking of the town and castle of Arundel, in Sussex, December 20, and January 6, 1643-4, where were taken above a thousand prisoners, two thousand arms, near two hundred horse, about a hundred commanders and officers, with great store of treasure. As it was delivered by a messenger from Sir W. Waller

^a This should evidently be “ *Mill*.” The intrenchment alluded to must have been the great fosse on the north side of the Little Park, which communicates by a side ditch with St. Mary’s Gate, and descends, at its eastern extremity, to the pond, just above the Mill.

to the R^t Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker to the House of Commons, and by him appointed to be forthwith printed and published.—Printed by John Field, Jan. 8, 1644.

On Sunday the 17th of December, Sir William Waller drew forth his forces, and marched to Hazlemoore: on Monday he came to Midhurst; on Tuesday night he came into Arundel Park; and on Wednesday morning, about eight of the clock, valiantly assaulted the town of Arundell on the north-west and south-west parts thereof; and about ten of the clock the same day, forced the enemy to fly from their workes and retreat into Arundell castle. In which service, his new souldiers taken at Alton did good execution; the same night, a regiment of horse came from his Excellency, the Earl of Essex, to the aide of Sir W. Waller: Sir William possessing himself of the town, where provision being scarce, on Thursday divers people sent in six loads of victuals freely, which good example of theirs for the publique good did induce many others to do the like.

The same day, Colonel Morley came thither with a regiment of Kentish forces; and Major Bodley did a notable exploit; he perceaving divers in the castle looke forth in a balcone, took unto himself and twelve others their musquets unto a private place of advantage, from whence they altogether discharged into the said balcone, and slew and wounded divers of the enemy. The same night, two sacres were planted in the steeple, with divers musquetiers, who, on Friday morning betimes, played hotly on the enemy, which appeared on the top of the castle. The same day, divers were taken in their intended escape from the castle: also Sir Miles Livesey

brought a regiment of horse, and Sir William Springate a regiment of foot from Kent, to the aide of Sir William : also the same day, the course of a pond was turned, and more fully perfected on Saturday, the draining whereof emptied the wels of water within the castle, so that now the enemy began to be distrest with thirst; the same day divers of them fled from the castle, and were taken prisoners; whereupon a stronger guard was kept about the said castle.

On Sunday, divers more fled from the castle, and many horses were turned forth, of which our souldiers made a good purchase, only one of them was shot by the enemy, whose bloody crueltie and inhumane malice did mightily appear against us, in that they took him and hewed him all to peeces, which doubtlesse they would have done to every one of us, had we been likewise in their power. The same day, Colonell Hads and Colonell Dixie approached towards us with two regiments out of Kent, for the further aid of Sir William Waller; and also divers regiments out of Sussex. On Monday, the 25th of December, the enemy made shew of a salley, and about thirty of them appeared unto us from the castle yard; whereupon the drums did beat and the trumpets sound, and all our men were presently gathered together in a fit posture to charge the enemy, who presently took themselves to their heels, as the best remedy to prevent danger, and so manfully retreated.

On Tuesday, we planted ordnance in a new place against the Castle, which made the enemy that they durst not peep over the walls to shoot at us, as they had wont to do. On Wednesday, divers of the enemies

having forgot the former danger, came forth into the belcone again, whereupon we placed divers musquetiers in the ruines of an old chappel, from whence we did good execution upon them: The same day, Sir Ralph Hopton came to Petersfield, and quartered his forces thereabouts, and some of the enemies fled out of the Castle, and escaped by the river in a boat made of a raw oxehide. On Thursday, more of the enemies were taken escaping out of the Castle, and that afternoon, the enemy hung out a white flag, pretending a parley, and calling to some of our men delivered them letters, directed to our Generall, and Colonel Marlow, in which they desired sack, tobacco, cards, and dice, to be sent unto them, to make merry this idle time, promising to return us for them beef and mutton, but the truth is, they wanted bread and water, and that night did put divers live oxen over the walls of the Castle for want of fodder: The same day a partie of his Excellencies horse incoun- tred with a partie of Sir Ralph Hopton's horse neer Petersfield, and took prisoners two quarter-masters, one serjeant, and two common souldiers. On Friday, Hopton's army moved towards us as far as Mardin and Wes- din, and we brought our ammunition that was at Mid- hurst to Arundel. On Saturday morning, divers fled forth of the Castle unto us, amongst whom was one ser- jeant, who signified the great want of provision, having nothing but powdred beef, and a few live beeves left them. The most materiall passages until Thursday fol- lowing was the enemies treating with too haughty re- quests, for men in their condition, and the daily running away of the enemy from the Castle unto us, notwith- standing Sir William had made it death by proclamation

to those that came forth. On Friday the 5 of January, 1644, the enemy began to feel the fruits of their deserts, being extremely pinched with famine, and thereupon sent a message to our Major-Generall of the West, the generous spirited Sir William Waller, with more humble expressions than formerly: desiring a treaty by meanes of three persons from either party; and that the Lady Bishop, with her daughters and waiting Gentlewomen, might have liberty to come forth and refresh themselves. To all which Sir William agreed, and invited the said Lady and Gentlewomen, together with Colonell Bamfield, Major Bovil, and a Captaine, being the persons sent from the Castle, to dine with him, who had all noble respect and good entertainment: Persons on our part, sent to the Castle to treat, were Colonell Wems, Major Anderson, and a Kentish Captain. At this treaty there was no full agreement made between them, in regard the enemy did not fully condescend to Sir William's demands, and so the persons on either side were returned, but the Gentlewomen continued with Sir William, who feasted and entertained them that night; also that afternoone, the Lady Goring and her daughter came to visite the Lady Bishop and her daughters, one of them being married to the Lady Goring's onely son, he being in the Castle; which visite gave a speedy accomplishment to our designe: For Mistresse Goring, after some conference with her mother-in-lawe, returned to her husband in the Castle, and, shortly after, the enemy sent a drum, with Colonell Rawlins and Major Mullins to treat for a finall agreement; upon which treaty they condescended to Sir William. The substance of which agreement was, that all the enemies should be surren-

dered prisoners, together with the Castle; all their armes, ammunition, treasure, or whatsoever they possessed, into the custody and disposing of Sir William, by nine of the clock on Saturday morning, being the 6th of this instant. For assurance whereof, Colonell Rawlins and Major Mullins ingaged themselves, and also promised that Colonell Edward Foard and Sir Edward Bishop should immediately come forth and ingage themselves to Sir William also: To which purpose the said Drum was sent back, and after midnight returned onely with a letter, in which were some simple demands; hereupon Sir William trebled his guard upon the Castle, least any escape should be made, and returned the Drum, and demanding them to come forthwith, or else he would dissolve the treaty, and proceed against them: Whereupon, Sir Edward Bishop and Colonell Foard came, according to agreement, to Sir William, about two o'clock in the morning. Thus God brought about this great work without bloodshed, and Sir William Waller is possessed with the said town and castle of Arundell, with about 100 officers and commanders, the chief are Sir Edward Bishop, Colonell Bamfield, and Colonell Foard, with one Doctor Shellingsworth;^a be-

^a Sir Ed. Bishop was the second Baronet of that name, of Parham, in Sussex. In the "Weekly account of certain special passages, &c. from Wednesday Jan. 3, to the 10th of the same, 1644," he is said to be the person "who some yeares since embrued his wilfull hands in the blood of Master Henry Sherley, kinsman to Mr. James Sherley, the Playwright, and who did excel him in that faculty."

Colonel Edw. Foard, or Ford, was the son of Sir W. Ford, Knight, of Harting, in Sussex. In the "Parliament Scout," Jan. 5—12, 1644, we are told that he "brake out of Windsor Castle, and, before that, sent a letter to his Majesty offering to bring him a thousand men, and

sides about 2000 armes, with ammunition and good store of riches, to incourage our valiant souldiers in their further service ; meanwhile, Sir Ralph Hopton has spent his time frivolously against Warbleton House, betwixt Winchester and Portsmouth, where wee leave him till divine justice findes him, and give the whole glory of our successe to God. ^a

The taking of this town and castle hath been of excellent consequence to this citty of LONDON, as will shortly appear to be made manifest.”

“ A wicked plot against the person of Sir William Waller, declaring how one of his souldiers, eyther

to undertake the conquest of Sussex, though sixty miles in length.”

Doctor Shellingsworth will be more easily recognised under the well known name of Chillingworth. His history and character are familiar to the readers of polemical divinity. He survived his capture at Arundel only a few days, and was buried at Chichester.

^a The reader might imagine from this passage that no attempt was made by Hopton to relieve the Castle ; and it is singular that the same insinuation seems to run through all the papers that describe the siege. Yet the contrary was certainly the fact. From a passage in one of the official weekly journals of the time we know that he absolutely advanced to within a few miles of Arundel, but was compelled to retire in consequence of the inferiority of his force. “ On Sunday last (Dec. 31), Sir Ralph Hopton, with such strength as he could make, advanced toward Arundell : his number was not above 2000 horse, and 1500 foot. Sir W. Waller drew out to meet him (leaving 1500 in the town to secure the Castle), and they met three miles off Arundell ; they faced, and some shot was interchanged ; about three or four men were lost on both sides ; and so gently Sir R. Hopton retreated, and courteously turned faces about.”—The “ Scottish Dove, bringing intelligence from the army.” No. 1. From Dec. 29 to Jan. 5. Published by order.

for hire or malice, would desperately have shot him, but (by the providence of God) his musket not taking fire, he immediately was apprehended, and deservedly executed for it. Shewing also the true passages of every dayes service from the first besieging of Arundell Castle till the surrendering of it to Sir William Waller, Jan. 6. With an exact relation what commanders were slain during the sledge, and what prisoners and pillage was found in the Castle; together with the taking of a Dunkirk ship, which (being chased by the Hollanders) came up by the Channell near unto Arundell Castle for harbour, very richly laden, who intended to go to the relief of the English-Irish against the Parliament. Sent from the army to a Gentleman dwelling in Mugwell Street, and by him caused to be printed for the satisfaction of such as desire to be truly informed. Published according to order, Jan. 11. Printed for Robert Wood, London, MDCXLIV.

I doubt not but you have heard of our sledge of Arundel Castle, but in regard I am not ignorant how uncertain reports of this nature are at London, I am bold to present you with a brief (yet true relation) both of the whole siege, and of the yielding up of the said castle to Sir William Waller on twelwe-day last in the morning. At our first sitting down before the town and castle of Arundell, the cavaliers shewed themselves very bold and insolent, and seemed to be so confident of their own strength, that they took the offer of quarter in defiance, and hung out their red flag, but within half an houres

fight the enemy was forced from their outworks, and above eighty of them taken prisoners, the rest we pursued into the town, who, without any further opposition, fled into the Castle for shelter, and the streets were quickly scoured by our Forlorn Hope, and one captain and a lieutenant, with many other prisoners, taken. The town being thus cleared of the enemy and wonne by our men, the cavaliers played out of the Castle with musket-shot, but could command but very little of the town; for the greatest annoyance they did us by shooting from thence was on the bridge, wher one of our men was shot in the thigh, and Captain Butler escapt very narrowly, for he was shot through the houlster as he rode over. It pleased God that we lost not above three or four men (to my best knowledge) in entering the town, besides some few that were wounded, of which number I must, with sorrow, remember that valiant Gentleman, Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, who was killed, and Lieutenant Colonel Burcher, who received a wound in the belly, but is pretty well recovered of it againe, and our chief engineer, who was taken prisoner.

In the taking of this towne (which is by nature scituate in a place of great advantage, and was fortified by the enemy) I may not forget the undaunted courage of our men, and especially the blew coats, who run up the enemy's workes, and beat them off with the but ends of their muskets, and, indeed, to speak the truth, those men which we took at Alton, that joined with us, did very good service.

Yet in this place I cannot omit to acquaint you of a perfidious rascal, that for hire, or some other wicked

end, would have killed our noble general ; but it pleased God that his musket went not off, so that his wicked designe was prevented, and himself deservedly hanged.

The greatest part of our foot was quartered in the town, and a regiment of horse kept a guard that not only all manner of relief might be kept from the Castle, but also to prevent their sallying forth, which within three days they attempted to do, but were quickly driven in again with losse. And after that, they turned forth of the Castle about one hundred horse into a meadow, part of which was within musket-shot of the castle, and yet most of them were quickly gotten out by our men. Some of their men being hunger bitten got over the walles, and slid down with ropes, and were taken prisoners. One Richard Smith escaped about four miles out of towne, that came out of the castle, and was taken at one of our courts of guard, where, being by the captain of the guard very strictly examined, he confessed that he was sent with a letter to Sir Ralph Hopton for ayde, but would not produce the letter, but said that he had lost it ; so that it appearing that he had been an arch spie in our army, and was now going to betray it into the hands of the enemy, he was condemned to be hanged upon the bridge in the view of the castle. But we were much troubled, and did greatly feare lest that some of the chiefe of their commanders had escaped out of the castle, for the last week was found, by some of our soldiers, upon the river which runneth near to the east side of the castle, a boate made of horse-hides, which was brought from the castle, and it is a great presumption that some use was made thereof ; but it is rather thought that it conveyed some messenger away to

Sir Ralph Hopton than that any commanders escaped. Much talk we had of Hopton's coming, for divers dayes together, and some of our scouts did affirme that they saw some of his scouts, and were near his body, but we heard no more of him until Wednesday last, at which time news was brought that he had besieged Warbleton House, about six miles from Chichester, in which is a garrison of about eighty men, under the command of Colonel Norton.

Upon Friday last a drummer came forth of the castle for a parley, but seeing great store of provision in our army, and having been hunger bitten in the castle, he yielded himself prisoner, rather than to carry an answer back into the castle, so that they were constrained to send another, and a parley was granted; but in regard they would not accept of Sir William's free proffer of quarter at his first coming, he now utterly refused to give them any, but would have them submit to his mercy. The Lady Bishop, and many other gentlewomen of quality came out of the castle; and the next morning, being on twelwe day last, the castle was surrendered upon quarter, but all of them were to become prisoners; of which there was about eight hundred common soldiers, and about a hundred and fifty commanders, of which the chiefest were Sir Edward Bishop, Sir Edward Ford, Colonel Bamfield, Lieutenant Colonel Rolles, Major Massey, and Major Mullins, who are all very suddainly to be sent up to the city of London.

It was my chance to be at Arundell at the very instant when the castle was yielded, and saw the prisoners march out, but I never saw so many weake and feeble creatures together in my life, for almost all the common

soldiers were half starved, and many of them hardly able to set one foot before another; yet had they beefe very plentifull, but they certified us, they had no bread since Christmas day. There were great store of horse, arms, and much treasure, found in the castle; so that it is not a little weakening to the enemy and strengthening to our party. The taking of this place hath wonderfully encouraged our men who are all so forward in the service that they deserve great commendations, and the Lord, I hope, will prosper all their undertakings.

Within a day or two after the taking of the said castle, there fell out a fortunate adventure, no less remarkable than all the rest. A man of warre of Holland had chased a Dunkirk ship laden with good store of merchandise and linen cloth, which is now very welcome to our army. She had in her twenty-four pieces of brasse ordnance, aboute a hundred barrells of powder, good store of armes, which (according to the ordinary custom of imagination in this kind) was conceived and believed to be sent to the relief of the English-Irish, that make havocke now in Cheshire. Sir William boarded the ship, which came up the channell not farre from Arundell Castle on Tuesday last, and is now master of it.

He has also sent two thousand horse and foot, with two drakes, to besiege the Lord Lumley's house in Sussex,^a the taking of which will be of great advantage to us, and it is thought, by the most judicious commanders, that it cannot long hold out.

This being done, our noble Generall, as we heare, intends to lose no time, but having received the additions of the London trained bands into his army, he intendeth

^a Stanstead House.

to march westwards, from whence we understand there are considerable supplies coming to the relief of Sir Ralph Hopton; and it is hoped that Redding, Wallingford, and some other townes thereabouts, will soon be brought to subjection. Which I pray to the Lord they may in his due time, to his glory; and that he would be pleased to send a period to these troubles. Which is the continued prayer of him who is

Your's to command,

DANIEL BORDER."

From Arundell, Jan. 9, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$.

Copy of a Letter from Sir W. Waller to the Lieutenant General, the Earl of Essex, Jan. 6, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$.

" MY LORD,

On Thursday the enemy sent a drummer to me, with a letter signifying their willingness to surrender the Castle, if they might have honourable conditions. I returned answer, that, when I first possessed myself of the town, I summoned them in the Castle to yield upon fair quarter: but they were pleased to refuse either to give or take quarter. I now took them at their word, and bid them yield to mercy. That night I heard no more of them; but the next morning the drummer came to me again with another letter, wherein they disavowed that answer to my trumpet, laying the blame upon one (who they say had no more soldiery than civility) that without their assent or knowledge had given that language. I sent them answer that I was very well satisfied that, in this disavowing that harshness, they had made room for courtesy, and that I was contented to

give them fair quarter, and that, according to their desire, formerly expressed, if they would send out to me two officers of quality, I would employ two of equal condition to treat with them about the particulars of the surrender. Within a short time after, there came out unto me Colonel Bamfield and Major Bodvil, who pressed very much that they might have liberty to march away like soldiers, otherwise they would choose death rather than life, and so brok off. About two hours after, they sent out unto me Lieutenant Colonel Rawlins and Major Moulin, who, after some debate, came to an agreement with me, that this morning they would deliver the Castle into my hands by ten of the clock, with colours and arms undefaced and unspoiled; and that the Gentlemen and officers should have fair quarter and civil usage, and the ordinary soldiers quarter. For the performance of these covenants, Sir Edward Ford and Sir Edward Bishop were immediately to be yielded to me, which was accordingly done.

This morning we entered, and are now, blessed be God, in possession of that place. We have taken seventeen coulours of foot, and two of horse, and one thousand prisoners, one with another, besides one hundred and sixty which we took at the first entering of the town, and such as came from the enemy to us during the siege. I humbly desire the London regiments may be sent hither to secure this important place, while I advance with what strength I have towards the enemy, who lie still at Havant. I humbly rest

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

WILLIAM WALLER.^a

Arundel, Jan. 6, 1643.

^a Parliamentary Hist. Vol. 13. p. 16.

“ Certain Propositions made by Sir W. Waller at the Surrender of Arundell Castle, together with a list of the names of the Commanders taken in the said Castle. London, 1644.

1. I require the Castle of Arundell to be delivered into my hands by to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

2. That all Collonels of horse and foot, and all horse, arms, ammunition, and military provision whatever, be then delivered unto me entire, and unspoiled.

3. That all Commanders, Officers, and Gentlemen, have fair quarter and civill usage.

4. That all Souldiers shall have quarter for their lives.

5. That, for security of performance, Sir Edward Bishop and Sir Edward Foord be immediately delivered into my hands.

WILLIAM WALLER.

EXPLICATION.

1. By fair quarter I understand, giving life to those that yeeld, with imprisonment of their persons, but civill usage, which is sufficient security, they shall not be plundered.

2. Concerning the place where they shall be sent I will not determine, but will be left to mine own freedom, without further capitulation.

3. The ministers are included in the Articles, and are prisoners as well as the Souldiers.^a

4. When I send away the officers I shall take care that they shall not want horses to carry them, but will not be bound to let them have their own horses.^b

^a This was introduced for the purpose of including Chillingworth.

^b Tuesday, Jan. 9. Divers of the Cavaliers which Sir W. Waller.

“ A list of the names of the Commanders taken by Sir W. Waller, at the surrendering up of Arundel Castle.

	COLONELS.	Taylor
Bamfield		Edmonds
Bishop		Anthony
Foord		Garret
	LIEUT. COLONELS.	Beale
Walker		Rawlins
Rawlins		Leach
	MAJORS.	Reeve
Bevill		Riche
Mullins		Garret
Gaudy		Thomas
Mills		REFORMADOS.
Captain Gabriel Thomas,		Mulbancke
Martial Generall		Kempe
Edward White, Quarter		LIEUT. OF HORSE.
Master Generall		Thornton
	CAPTAINS OF THE HORSE.	Rockey
Crosland		Munckton
Ashford		LIEUT. OF FOOTE.
Ashcott		Garret
Hagidott		Masters
Buchley		Atkins
	CAPTAINS OF FOOTE.	Eaton
Shanckes		Blacke

had taken prisoners at Arundel Castle on Saturday last, were brought into London, some in carts, and others on foot, and were committed to London House, and several other prisons in London, and to the King's Bench, and other prisons in Southwark; where I hope they will be kept safely." Mercurius Civicus, No. 34. p. 360.

Shipton

Ildish

Masters

Allot

Leach

Talborne

Mackridge

Warren

Rene

Sorrey

Scott

Turkey

Coyle

Lightford

CORNETS.

Powell

Rochley

Williams

Haley

Hooke

ENSIGNES.

Duellinge

Jones

Riche

Stichseame

Sadler

Williams

Channon

Cowlis

Earles

Lichford

Prynne

Cooper

Gilbert

Martin

Goringe

Weymer

Glosse Sutton

GENTLEMEN.

Gilbert Beckingham

Arthur Creswell

Henry Goringe

Mr. Ennerfield

Robert Allen

Thomas Marlett

John Pay

SURGEONS (PERHAPS SER-
JEANTS.)

William Rosse

William Berey

William Pell

John Greenfield

John Beacher

Richard Serley

Henry Baveninge

Will. Welbe

QUARTER MASTERS.

Robert Lurbord

— Floyd

Richard Spurchford

Richard Lewis

Richard Cubbe

John Easton "

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE CASTLE.—MODERN RESTORATION—SOUTH-EAST AND NORTH-WEST FRONTS—LIBRARY—BARONS' HALL—NEW GATEWAY—PORTRAITS IN THE CASTLE—PLEASURE GROUND AND PARKS—HIORNE'S TOWER—PARK SCENERY.

THE termination of the siege mentioned in the last chapter left the Castle almost a ruin. By that event the keep, which had hitherto been perfect, was reduced nearly to the state in which it still remains: the hall, with the whole of the south-west side, was destroyed; and the other portions of the building were so materially injured as to be rendered scarcely habitable. Yet no measures seem to have been adopted to restore it: it became in a great degree abandoned as a residence; and the roofless apartments were left to moulder in neglect, or sink beneath the ravages of the elements.^a It was not until about the year 1720 that any attention appears to have been bestowed on these ruinous remains. At that period, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, conceived the design of refitting the Castle at least as a habitation. He made it his occasional abode; repaired the dilapidated apartments; erected others of more modern appearance; and introduced various convenient alterations in the old buildings. A line of stabling now occupied

Effects of
the siege
on the
Castle.

It is re-
paired

^a "April 10, 1702. The Castle is a noble antient place, but ruinous. 'Tis pitty that the two roomes which interpose between the Duke's apartment and Mr. Hayward's *are not roofed*, by meanes whereof it would be made entire on the east side." MS. Survey in Arund. Castle.

the site of the Great Hall which had been destroyed, and a modern brick front, brought forward into the court on the principal side of the quadrangle, afforded an opportunity of enlarging the interior by the addition of galleries and staircases communicating with the several apartments.

The commodious nature of these repairs recalled the noble proprietors to their deserted residence: their deformity suggested the idea of a more complete restoration. By the act of Parliament, passed in the third year of King Charles the First, for the purpose of entailing the Castle of Arundel, with other possessions, on the descendants of Earl Thomas, it had been provided that the term of all leases to be granted on the property in the parish of St. Clement Danes, London, should be limited to twenty-one years. But it was soon discovered that the shortness of this period would operate to the serious injury of the estate, and, in 1671, another act was obtained, by which the guardians of the Duke of Norfolk were authorized, at any time between the passing of the bill and the year 1681, to execute leases for sixty years, subject however to the condition, that whatever increase this alteration might produce in the amount of the renewal fines should be faithfully expended in the improvement of the entailed property. When the leases expired, this act and others of a similar nature, which succeeded it, were constantly renewed; so that, in 1783, when the leases were last about to terminate, it occurred to Charles, the father of the late Duke of Norfolk, that the fines to be raised under the authority of another legislative enactment might, in part at least, be advantageously employed in the restoration

of the Castle. When an application for a new act was made, in the course of the same year, this object was stated; and a sum of £5000 was therefore specifically reserved by parliament from the fines, to be appropriated to “the effectual and substantial repair, support, and improvement of the said Castle.”^a Death, however, prevented the Duke from carrying the work into execution. But his son had already caught his ideas; and his immediate attention, therefore, on attaining to the honours of his family, was turned to the realization of the magnificent scheme which he had formed. It appears that he had resolved to work upon his own designs, to retain so much of the ancient structure as was suitable to his purpose, and to alter or remove the rest as circumstances might require; and materials were consequently prepared under his own inspection; plans were drawn, and artificers of promising talents were selected from his own estates, and placed under superior

And rebuilt.

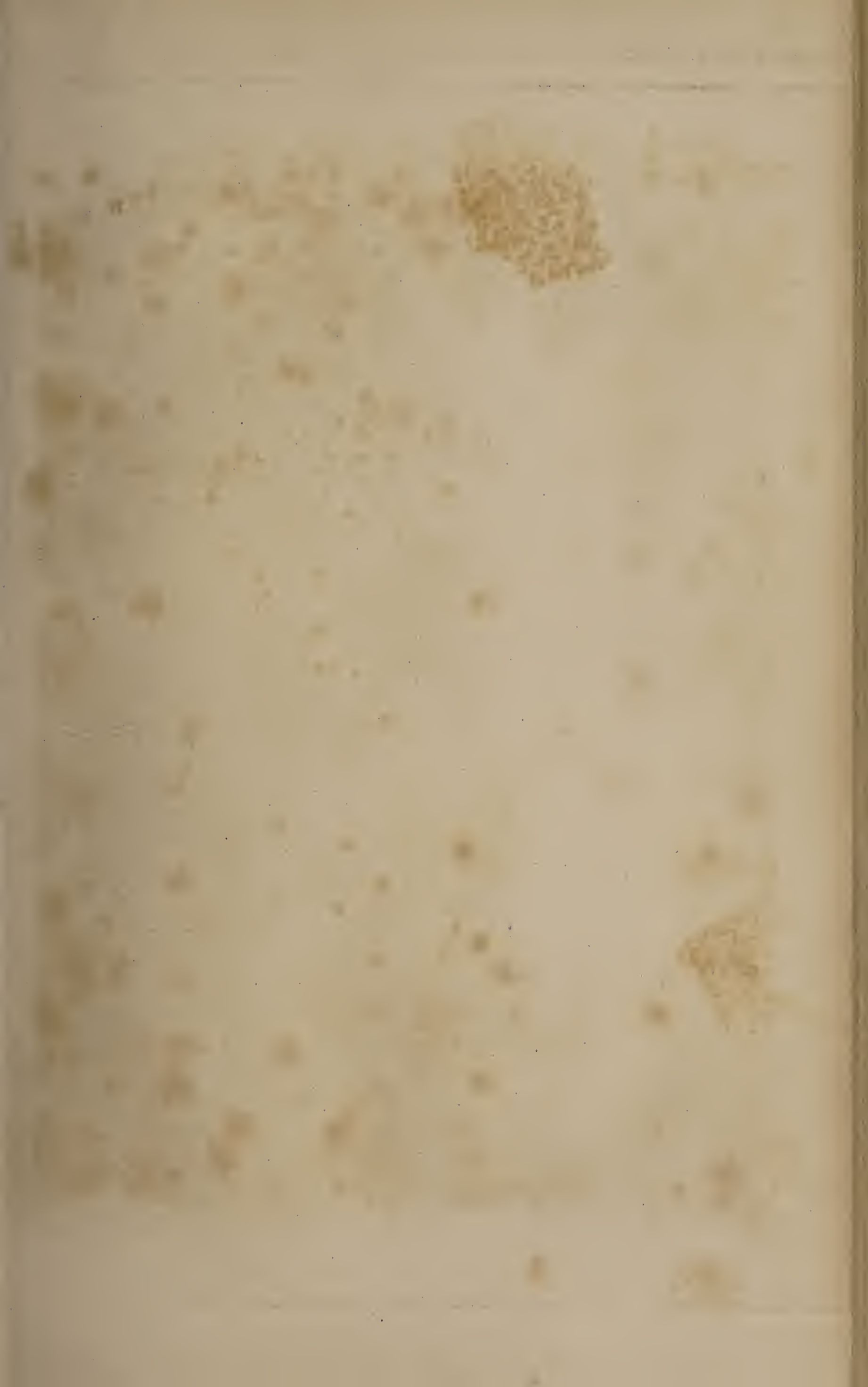
^a Act 23 Geo. 3. To enable Charles, Duke of Norfolk, and others, to grant building or repairing leases of certain tenements, &c. in the parish of St. Clement Danes. The amount of fines received under this act was £35,308: the other purposes to which it was to be applied were, 1. To defray the expenses of the act: 2. To finish the Norfolk Arms Inn, then erecting “upon the site of several old ruinous and decayed buildings,” and to discharge whatever monies had “already been expended on the same:”—the sum charged was £7,223. 1s. 9d.: 3. To rebuild or repair certain decayed messuages in the parish of St. Clement Danes: 4. To purchase manors, lands, or other real estates in fee simple, to be entailed according to the limitations of the act 3 Car. 1.—The popular notion that the *rents* of the estate in the Strand must necessarily be employed in supporting or improving the Castle of Arundel evidently originates in an imperfect knowledge of the provisions of this act.

The South-
East front.

hands in London for that improvement which might qualify them for carrying his conceptions into effect. The operations were commenced in the beginning of the year 1791, and the eastern tower, with the line of apartments on the south-east side, was the first portion of the edifice that was completed. This was little more than an alteration. The tower, indeed, was raised, and the upper story of the front was added; but the whole of the lower part of the walls was carefully preserved, the square sashes of the first floor were simply replaced by the pointed windows which now distinguish the building, and the drawing-room was merely extended by the removal of a partition which separated it from an adjoining chamber. Perhaps the omission of the enormous, and not very graceful, window, which fills the square projecting tower of the present dining-room, would have been an improvement in the general appearance of this side of the structure.

The North-
West front.

The erection of the north-west front, which was begun in 1795, produced a manifest enlargement of the ancient edifice. Following the example of his predecessor, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the noble architect resolved to advance still further into the court, and laying his foundations at a distance of about twenty-four feet from the old brick front, threw this additional space into the depth of the Castle. The galleries, which formerly looked into the court, now traversed the heart of the building, and were lighted from each end; the brick front became an inner wall; and the space between that and the modern erection was appropriated, on the ground floor, as offices, and above, as sleeping apartments for the family. The front itself is of Portland stone, in a style





W. Cooke sculp.

C. B. Utley del.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

of no peculiar character or beauty; and the entrance, which is in the middle, is through a deep Norman doorway, opening immediately to the staircase.

The north-east wing, which contains the library, was commenced in 1801. Its basement is formed upon the Norman model: its upper part is in the style that marks the reign of Henry the sixth, with a square tower projecting in the middle, and receiving its light from an oriel window. The library within is an apartment of singular magnificence. It measures one hundred and seventeen feet in length, by thirty-five in width; is constructed entirely of mahogany, and displays, in the ornaments of its roof and pillars, a beauty of workmanship and a delicacy of carving, which have seldom been surpassed. It is said that the Duke's original intention was to adopt the cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral, or the aisles of St. George's Chapel at Windsor as his model in this portion of the building: but it is certain, at least, that, if this were his first design, it was abandoned in the progress of the work; and that a room was ultimately completed, which embodying the style, the ornaments, and much of the beauty of various æras, belongs in reality to none. Its greatest fault is the want of sufficient height, a fault which pervades all the new parts of the edifice, but which, in this instance, might have been easily avoided by the trifling sacrifice of the sleeping apartments above. The folding doors at the further end of the library were intended to communicate with the "Alfred Saloon," which, though unfinished, may be distinguished on the exterior by a remarkable specimen of bad taste in a representation of the Saxon monarch instituting the Trial by Jury. It is executed in Coade's stone.

The Library.

The Barons' Hall.

The Barons' Hall, which, with its appendant chapel, was designed to commemorate the triumph of the barons over the tyranny of King John, occupies the south-west side of the quadrangle, and was commenced in 1806. The chapel is in the style of the fourteenth century, supported by slender buttresses terminating in pinnacles, and lighted by one large transomed window at the north-west end. The Hall bears the characteristics of the same age. Its windows are of the acutely pointed form; the canopies or weather mouldings over the arches, which are ornamented with the lozenge, rest on corbel heads of kings; and the transoms form the lower compartment of each light into a plain unadorned parallelogram: but this upper part of the building is raised, with some incongruity of effect, upon a basement of the earliest Norman architecture, and is not improved by a Norman arcade which projects over the basement, and supports a paved terrace along the side of the court.—The interior has never been completed. When the Duke was about to fit up this apartment, he seems to have intended to select his model from amongst some of the beautiful specimens of ancient halls which still exist. Eltham and Westminster are said to have been examined with this view: Crosby Hall certainly supplied a large body of drawings for the same purpose;^a and this fact has probably led to the notion that, “with certain exceptions,” the plan which was ultimately adopted “resembles the last mentioned.”^b In what, however,

^a I was lately informed by the person who has long had the care of Crosby Hall, that an artist, employed by the Duke, was engaged for several months in making drawings from the roof.

^b Dallaway, Rape of Arund. 189. N. Edit.

the resemblance consists it were perhaps difficult to discover. Both, indeed, are large rooms, both are covered with a pannelled roof, and both are intended to answer the purpose of festive halls. But here all similarity terminates. Neither the form of the apartments, nor the structure of the roofs, nor the ornaments by which they are characterized, bear the slightest affinity to each other; and if, therefore, the Duke ever designed to copy the splendid model which Crosby Place presents, it is evident, at least, that in the composition of his work the principal features of the original were omitted. The Barons' Hall may be described as a parallelogram, with a semi-hexagon attached to each end, the base of the latter being equal to the width of the former. The whole length of the room is seventy-one feet: its width is thirty-four feet nine inches; and its height to the point of the roof thirty-six feet and a half. The roof is composed of Spanish chesnut, laid in close pannels, and strengthened by moulded ribs of the same material which cross obliquely from each side, and, intersecting each other at the central transom or ridge-piece, divide the whole into triangular compartments. The ribs are supported by light open spandrils, or brackets, without pendants; and these again spring from stone corbels carved on the under side into heads of musicians and other figures. The windows are thirteen in number, of which nine are finished and filled with stained glass. The largest occupies the north-west end of the Hall immediately opposite to the entrance. It is a splendid performance by Backler, from the design of Lonsdale, and describes the ratification of the Great

Charter by King John, who, with an indignant but powerless frown, seems to pause in the act of affixing his signature to the instrument, as if to upbraid the uncompromising patriotism of the barons. On his right, stand Cardinal Pandulf, the Pope's legate, and the Archbishop of Dublin: on his left are seen Cardinal Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Almeric, the Master of the Knights Templars:^a in the fore ground appears Baron Fitzwalter,^b with his page;^c and behind him are the Lord Mayor of London,^d and the attendant guards. The back ground affords a distant view of the camp at Runnymede. For chasteness of drawing and correctness of outline, for depth of colouring, and sparkling brilliancy of effect, this window certainly claims a high degree of merit, and can scarcely be thought inferior to any similar production of modern art.

The other eight windows, which are completed, were executed by Eginton, and contain as many full-length figures of barons who were instrumental in procuring the Great Charter, and from whom the Dukes of Norfolk lineally descend. They are habited in the chain-armour, which formed the military costume of the thirteenth century, and have, each, their armorial bearings emblazoned on their sur-coats and shields. The heads are portraits of various members (some still living) of the Howard family. They are ranged in the following order.

^a Portrait of Captain Morris.

^b Portrait of the late Duke of Norfolk.

^c Portrait of Henry Howard, Esq. of Greystoke.

^d Portrait of H. C. Coombe, Esq. Alderman of London.

On the left of the Great Window.

1°. Gules, a lion rampant argent, with a label of three points : Roger de Mowbray, brother to William, No 6.—Portrait of Lord Andover, now Earl of Suffolk.

2°. Gules, three water budgets argent : Robert de Ros.—Portrait of the present Lord Howard of Effingham.

3°. and 4°. vacant.

5°. Or, two chevronels gules : Richard de Muntfichet.—Portrait of the late Mr. Howard, father of Lord Howard of Effingham.

6°. Gules, a lion rampant argent : William de Mowbray.—Portrait of the late Earl of Suffolk.

On the right of the Great Window.

1°. Or, a cross gules : Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.—Portrait of the present Earl of Surrey.

2°. Azure, a bend cotised argent, between six lions rampant or : Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford.—Portrait of the late Lord Henry Molyneux Howard, brother to the present Duke of Norfolk.

3°. and 4°. vacant.

5°. Or, a cross gules, with a label of three points : Hugh, Son of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk.—Portrait of Henry Howard, Esq. of Corby Castle.

6°. Or, a fess between two chevrons gules : Robert Fitzwalter.—Portrait of the late Duke of Norfolk.

On the fifteenth of June, 1815, the Barons' Hall was first used. It was the six hundredth anniversary of the great foundation of English liberty, and, to celebrate the occasion with becoming splendour, this magnificent room was thrown open, and a sumptuous entertainment, in the old baronial style, was served up. The company included, amongst numerous other guests, no less than twenty-two individuals belonging to the several branches of the Howard family. The dinner was succeeded by a ball, which was opened by the Duke himself with the Marchioness of Stafford, and the festivities of the evening

were prolonged, to borrow their last lustre from the beams of the returning sun.

The new
Gateway.

The foundations of the new Gateway were laid in 1809: and the structure, if completed, would have been raised to an elevation of eighty-eight feet. The arch is pointed, surmounted by a heavy machicolation, and flanked by two hexagonal towers, through the upper part of which is a communication, along the walls, between the Castle and the Keep. The original intention was to encircle the upper part of these towers with an external gallery, terminating at each angle in a turret: but the design was never perfected: the towers themselves were left unfinished at a height of sixty-eight feet; and the building is now merely protected by a temporary covering of wood, a fate which few persons of taste will be inclined to lament, who reflect that thereby a promise is held out of an ultimate return to the original line of approach through the dungeons and the ancient archway. By what motives, indeed, the noble architect could have been induced to abandon this venerable entrance for a modern creation of his own fancy, it is difficult to imagine. Though time and circumstance had rendered it necessary to remodel the Castle itself, yet neither of them had dealt so unsparingly with the old Gateway, but that it might still have continued to speak to the approaching stranger of ages that were gone, and glories that had passed away, to remind him of the battles and the tales of other times, and to associate him more immediately in spirit with the noble and the great, whose steps and whose voices once echoed beneath its arches. But these feelings, which none cer-

tainly could better appreciate than the late Duke of Norfolk, seem, in this instance, to have been wholly forgotten. His notions of convenient improvement appear for the moment to have obliterated that deep sense of the grand and the imposing, which he must necessarily have possessed; and we are absolutely told that there was a time when he seriously contemplated not only the general disuse, but the total destruction, of the ancient Gateway. If this were the fact, it was a fortunate accident that prevented the execution of his design. It is precisely in such a locality that the finest feelings of the heart are most alive. It is precisely on such a spot that the mind loves to pause, where time seems to have hung up his implements of destruction, and the past and the present meet, as it were, in kindly intercourse together: and it is by this entrance, therefore, that every lover of antiquity must still hope to see the approach to the Castle re-opened, and “the gloomy Gateway’s arch profound” restored to its original purpose.

On the architectural beauty and proportions of the Castle little need be added. That it possesses some merit, and more apparent splendour; that it is the effort of a mind strongly imbued with admiration of the ancient models; and that, as in the front of the Library, for example, it displays some features of real excellence, is undoubted: but it is equally true that the want of a unity, or more properly, perhaps, a congruity, of design is visible throughout the building; and that the edifice loses more from the indiscriminate attachment of its founder to whatever bears the appearance of antiquity, than it can possibly gain from his knowledge of the various styles which he adopts. Had the architecture been less multifarious, it would have secured more ad-

General
Remarks.

mirers; and had the character of the modern structure harmonized in some degree with that of the ancient buildings, with which it is connected, the effect would necessarily have been both more chaste and more pleasing. Of the interior the principal parts have already been mentioned. The dining room is still unfinished; and the drawing room, though not remarkable for the beauty of its proportions, is, perhaps, as well designed as the nature of the space within which it is included would permit.—The following are the only portraits at present in the Castle.

Portraits
in the
Castle.

1. Portrait of John, first Duke of Norfolk of the Howard family. A Head: in a velvet cap and a furred gown, with the George. This is said to be the original portrait painted during his life. It has been frequently copied; and is engraved in Cartwright's Rape of Bramber.

2. Portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, great grandson of the preceding, beheaded Jan. 19, 1547. Whole length, standing under an arch, and resting with the right hand upon a broken pillar. The Earl is drest in a close suit of black richly embroidered with silver, and wears the Garter: the imposts of the arch are supported by two female figures, each holding an emblazoned shield, one with the arms of De Brotherton, son of Edward the first, the other with those of France and England quarterly. Above the arch, the letter H is upheld by two Angels: round its front, are inscribed the words "Anno Dni. 1546, ætatis suæ 29:" and on the pedestal of the broken column the motto "Sat superest" appears.^a It is known from the indictment of Surrey,

^a Mr. Dallaway has given two descriptions of this portrait: one in his edition of Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (I. 233.), which he has repeated, with a slight variation, in the history of the Rape of Arundel

published by Dr. Nott in his Edition of that nobleman's Poems,^a that the principal charge, on which he was condemned and executed, was that of having, at Kenninghall, on the seventh of October, 1546, caused the royal arms to be painted in conjunction with his own: and it is recorded, moreover, by Strype,^b that, about the same time, a portrait of the Earl, on which Guillim Streets had been employed, was "by the council's commandment fetched from the said Guillim's house," and produced, most probably in an unfinished state, before them. These circumstances, coupled with an incorrect description of the above-mentioned shields, have led to a belief that the present is the identical portrait alluded to by Strype; that it is the same which was painted at Kenninghall; and that it was sent for by the council for the sole purpose of establishing the accusation on which Surrey was about to be arraigned. There is, however, positive evi-

(190, note, New Edit.) ; and another in Dr. Nott's Memoir of Surrey, prefixed to the collected works of Surrey and Wyatt (p. x. note). In the first, he represents the Earl as "habited in a close dress of *brown* silk, profusely embroidered with *gold*:" in the second, he speaks of him as "dressed in a close suit of *black*, most richly flourished with embroidery in *silver*." In one, he tells us that the motto is "Sat superest **III** æt. 29, 1547," without saying in what part of the picture it is inscribed: in the other, he curtails the same motto to "Sat superest æt. 29," and informs us that it is "written *round the arch* in letters of gold." Further, whilst, in Walpole, he correctly describes the second shield as bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, in the Rape of Arundel, he says that it exhibits the arms of England only, and, in Dr. Nott, that it carries "those of Edward the Confessor, properly emblazoned." These discrepancies originate, of course, in inadvertence: but it was necessary to mention them, in vindication of my own account, which might otherwise be impeached on the authority of a writer, generally known to be acquainted with the picture.

^a Vol. I. Append. lxxvii.

^b Memorials, II. 495.

dence, to prove that such is not the fact. In the indictment, we are not only told that the arms quartered by the Earl were those of “Seynt Edward the confessor,” but are further informed, that they were “*azure, a cross fleury, between five martlets gold;*” a description, which at once annuls the claim of the present painting to the honours, and the paternity, that have been assigned to it. Of its artist nothing is known. It was purchased at the sale of part of the Arundel collection at Tart Hall, near Buckingham Gate, in 1720, for Sir Robert Walpole, and was afterwards presented by him to Edward Duke of Norfolk. It has been engraved in Lodge’s Portraits; but it is reduced to a three quarter length, and the shields are consequently omitted. A whole length copy of it, on canvass, differing only in some trifling particulars, was formerly in the possession of the Duke of Dorset at Knole; and a head on panel, highly finished and evidently taken from the same, is mentioned by Dr. Nott as his own property.^a

3. Portrait of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and son of the preceding, beheaded June 2, 1572. Whole length, in a close cap, with the orders of the Garter and St. Michael, and holding the Baton of Earl Marshal. It bears the monogram of Holbein, and is dated in 1550.—Engraved in Lodge.

4. Portrait of Mary Fitzalan, first wife of the preceding, younger daughter of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and mother of Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards. Ob. 1557, ætat. 18. Whole length, in a close dress of blue satin, with a small book in her hand. It bears the same date and monogram as the last, together with an inscription styling her “*Mary Dutchess of*

^a Memoirs of Surrey, cxxxi.*

Norfolk:” but she was not married to the Duke of Norfolk till 1556: and the label is therefore a modern addition.

5. Portrait of Henry Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers, only son of Henry, last Earl of Arundel of that family, and brother to Mary Fitzalan, Duchess of Norfolk: he died in 1557, æt. 19. Whole length, in black; painted at Brussels, by Paul Vansomer.^a

6. Portrait of Henry Frederick Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, great grandson of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Mary Fitzalan, his wife. Half length, in armour, by Vandyke: painted about the year 1641. There is a beautiful engraving from this picture by Lombart.

7. Portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Norwich and sixth Duke of Norfolk, second son of the preceding. Whole length, in his robes, with the Marshal's baton, and his right elbow resting on a pedestal.

8. Portrait of Cardinal Howard, next brother to the last. A Head.

9. Portrait of Edward, ninth Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1777. Half length, sitting. By Vanderbank.

10. Portrait of Mary Blount, Duchess of Norfolk, wife of the preceding. Half length, sitting. By Angelica Kauffman.

11. Portrait of Charles, tenth Duke of Norfolk. Whole length, in his robes, with the Earl Marshal's baton. By Opie.

12. Portrait of Catherine, Duchess of Norfolk, wife of the last. Whole length, by Opie.

13. Portrait of Charles, late Duke of Norfolk, son of

^a See Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, I. 225, and Dallaway's Anecd. of the Arts, 464.

the preceding, taken when he assumed the titular distinction of Earl of Surrey. Whole length, in a suit of black velvet, and leaning against a pillar. By Gainsborough. This has been engraved on a large scale by Sherwin.

14. Portrait of Bernard Edward, present Duke of Norfolk. A Head.

Besides this family series, there are also the following.

15. Portrait of John Lord Lumley, who married Jane, the elder of the two daughters of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and sister to Mary, Duchess of Norfolk. Whole length, in black.

16. Portrait of Frederick the Palsgrave, afterwards titular King of Bohemia. Whole length, by P. Vansomer.

17. Portrait of Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, and wife of the preceding. Whole length, by P. Vansomer. This portrait and that of her husband, the Palsgrave, were presented by the royal pair to Thomas, Earl of Arundel, on the occasion of his accompanying the Princess into the Palatinate, after her marriage.

18. Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. A Head, in Armour.

19. An historical piece representing Thomas, Earl of Surrey, defending himself before Henry the seventh for his conduct at the battle of Bosworth. Henry upbraided him with having served in the cause of "the late usurper and tyrant:"—"Sir," replied Surrey, "he was my crowned king. If the authority of parliament had placed the crown on that stake, I would have fought for it. Let it place it on your head, and you will find me as ready in your defence."^a The picture is by Mather Brown.

^a Camden's Remains, 270. Kennet, Collect. I. 540.

It will at once be remarked that the Castle commands no prospect from any of its apartments. The lower extremity of the town, in fact, with the windings of the river, and the marshy level through which it flows, presents the only object of view. The gardens and parks are entirely behind; and it is inseparable from the peculiar situation of the fortress that it is totally excluded from the beautiful scenery among which it stands. The Pleasure ground, which has been planted within the last few years, is not extensive. It commences immediately under the keep, on the north-west side, and thence extends westward to "St. Mary's Gate." Beyond this, to the north, lies the "Little Park," a small spot, containing only a few acres, but strongly defended by the ditches and their embankments which form the outworks of the Castle. Its original entrance was across the fosse on the north side, where an opening is cut in the rampart, and the vestiges of a Gateway, anciently accompanied by a drawbridge, still remain. At the extreme angles of the vallum above the ditch, are two circular mounds, on which towers were evidently erected: and a return of the fosse, drawn southward to "St. Mary's Gate," and probably continued down the declivity now known as "Poor House Hill," may yet be traced along the west side of the enclosure. Of the purposes to which the space thus fortified was devoted nothing is known. That it was formerly covered with buildings is evident from the foundations which may be traced in every part of the area: but whether they were of a military or domestic nature, whether the fortress once extended itself in this direction, or whether the town, which now occupies the declivity, was, at some early

The
Pleasure
ground.

The Little
Park.

period, situated on the summit, of the hill, are conjectures which, from the nature of the remains, it will be equally impossible to establish or disprove. The rampart is now adorned with a belt of magnificent elms, and beech.

The New
Park.

On the north of the "Little Park," and separated from it by the fosse and a small intervening paddock, is the Great, or New Park. The ancient park, with the Ruelle wood which belonged to it, was situated further to the west; and, though contemporary with the Castle, had no immediate communication with it. During the last two centuries, a large tract of Down in the adjoining parish of South Stoke, partly used as a sheep-walk, and partly occupied by an extensive rabbit-warren, called 'Pugh Dean,' formed the northern boundary of the Duke of Norfolk's property beyond the Little Park. It belonged latterly to the Slindon estates, and devolved, with the other possessions of the Kemps, on Anthony James Ratcliffe, late Earl of Newburgh: but, in 1797, an act of parliament was obtained, authorizing an exchange of land between the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl, and this property became attached to the settled estates of Arundel Castle.^a This was the origin of the

^a The Act 37 Geo. 3. cap. 39. enables Thomas Wright and Charles Butler, Trustees for the Duke of Norfolk, to exchange Gumworth-walk farm, and some estates in Tortington, for the manor of South Stoke, and certain lands in the same parish, which belonged to the Earl of Newburgh. It also empowers them to convey to Sir George Thomas, of Dale Park, about fourteen acres of coppice-land, situated in Madehurst, in return for a similar quantity of land in South Stoke. Besides the land thus given in exchange, the Duke paid, in consideration of the bargain, to Lord Newburgh, £914. 19s. 5d.; to Sir G.

New Park. The ground thus obtained, with all that intervened between it and the Little Park, was immediately enclosed, the rabbit-warren was destroyed, the hills were planted, the old London Road, which may still be traced through St. Mary's Gate and along a portion of the park towards Bury Hill, was shut up,^a and a few years later the whole space, including upwards of eleven hundred acres, was protected by a strong flint wall and lodges, and stocked with about a thousand head of deer. The ancient park was now converted

Selfishness

Thomas £78. 15s.; and for an additional piece of land belonging to the former, near "Hiorne's Tower," £1774. 17s. 11d.—Other Acts were also obtained for similar purposes. 1. The Act 30 Geo. 3. c. 36. vests Selhurst Park, the Warren of Ellinsdean, and Cudlow farm, in Charles, Duke of Norfolk, in fee; and in lieu thereof settles the manor of Houghton, with certain tenements in Arundel, part of the private estates of the said Duke, according to the limitations of the Act of the third of Charles the first. Selhurst Park was afterwards sold to the Duke of Richmond for £7500.; Ellinsdean to Sir James Peachey for £3150.; and Cudlow farm to Mr. John Boniface for £1350.—2. The Acts 37 Geo. 3. c. 40. and 41 Geo. 3. c. 15. authorize the enfranchisement of certain copyhold and customary lands, with the sale of certain tythes, entailed by the Act 3 Car. 1. Under these Acts the tythe of Hayling Island was sold for £16,920.—3. The Act 45 Geo. 3. c. 50. enables the Duke of Norfolk to sell Medhone Park, and to purchase in its place certain lands in Lyminster.—4. The Act 50 Geo. 3. c. 173. allows him to make a further exchange of the estates settled by the Act of Charles the first.

^a The Acts 43 Geo. 3. and 5 Geo. 4. are "for amending, widening, altering, and improving the road leading from the High Street in Arundel to the junction of the Petworth and Pulborough roads." They both vest the property of the old road in the Duke of Norfolk and his heirs for ever, "from and after the opening of the new road," which is to be made at his sole expense.

into a farm, and the convenience, as well as the beauty, of the new situation has marked the change as one of the greatest improvements effected by the late Duke.

Hiorne's
Tower.

On the brow of the hill, at a short distance from the entrance to the park, stands "Hiorne's Tower," a triangular building, about fifty feet high, with a turret at each of the angles. It was built after the design, and under the superintendence, of the late F. Hiorne, a distinguished architect of Birmingham, and affords the most perfect specimen of genuine Gothic architecture of which Arundel can boast. It is from the summit of this tower, on a clear autumnal evening, that the real beauty and magnificence of the park scenery will be discerned. On one side, the bold projections of the downs, the long valley of Pugh Dean winding its way among the hills, or losing itself in the wooded morass immediately below, the hanging beech woods that clothe the steep acclivities on each side of Swanbourne lake, and the mellow tints of fading loveliness with which the declining year begins to gild its parting hours;—on the other, the undulating surface of wood and hill which marks the eastern boundary of the ancient park, the frequent village scattered over the rich expanse of cultivated country beyond, the numerous windings of the Arun lingering on his course, and turning as it were to take another and another farewell of scenes, which he appears to quit with regret,—these, with the grand feature of Sussex scenery, the English channel, rolling in the distance and bounding the horizon from west to east, form together an assemblage of beauties on which the eye and the heart will alike rest with delight, and from which the stranger will turn not

without recalling the lines of the plaintive poetess of Sussex :

“ Farewell Aruna ! on whose varied shore
 “ My early vows were paid to Nature’s shrine !
 “ Sighing I resign
 “ Thy solitary beauties ; and no more
 “ Or on thy rocks, or in thy woods recline,
 “ Or on the heath, by moonlight lingering, pore
 “ On air-drawn phantoms ! ”^a

I must not conclude this chapter, on the repairs and restoration of the Castle, without referring to a curious passage in the Act of the third year of Charles the first, which, though it has never been acted upon, provides that, “ for the better sustentation, preservation, and continuance of the said Castle of Arundel, and the said capital house called Arundel House, in sufficient and necessary reparations,” an annual sum of two hundred and ten pounds shall be paid out of the Sussex estates “ to the Wardens and Commonalty of the mystery of Fishmongers, of the City of London, and their successors for ever ;” that these persons “ shall have full power to distrain in the premises for all and every arrearages of the said yearly sum ;” and that in addition to an expenditure of one hundred pounds, part of the said money, which is to be made on Arundel House, they “ shall, yearly or otherwise as shall be necessary, employ one hundred pounds, another part of the said rent, in and upon the building, sustaining, repairing, renewing, and amending of the said Castle of Arundel, and chapel adjoining to the church of Arundel, wherein some of the

^a Charlotte Smith, Sonnet 45.

Earls of Arundel lie buried, and of the goods and chattels there to be preserved, in such manner as the Earl of Arundel for the time being, or the next heir, shall from time to time conveniently and reasonably direct, and appoint, and thereof under his hand in writing give notice to the said Wardens, &c. at their Common Hall."



N. E. FRONT.

CHAPTER IV.

PRIVILEGES OF THE CASTLE.—THE EARLDOM ATTACHED TO IT—
 PARLIAMENTARY DECISION ON THIS SUBJECT—REMARKS ON THIS
 DECISION AND ON THE CONTROVERSY THAT LED TO IT—REPORT OF
 THE LORDS' COMMITTEE ON THE DIGNITY OF A PEER—STRICTURES
 ON LORD REDESDALE'S ARGUMENT RELATIVE TO THE EARLDOM OF
 ARUNDEL—DECISION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN FAVOUR OF PHILIP
 HOWARD, EARL OF ARUNDEL—THE ACT PASSED IN THE THIRD
 YEAR OF CHARLES I.—PRECEDENCY OF THE EARLDOM.

FROM the antiquity of its origin, and the importance of the transactions of which it has been the theatre, the Castle of Arundel derives but a small portion of its celebrity: a greater and more enviable distinction is found in the privilege which it claims of conferring the title of Earl on its possessor. It was in November, 1433 (12 Hen. 6.) that a judicial sentence was pronounced by the legislature on this subject. On the death of Earl Thomas, in 1415, the Castle, by virtue of the entail which, the reader will recollect, had been created in 1347, passed to his second cousin, John Fitzalan, Lord Maltravers, the next heir male, who, in the following year, was summoned to parliament by the title of Earl of Arundel.^a Thomas, however, had left three sisters, his

The Earldom attached to the Castle.

^a Claus. 4 Hen. 5. m. 16. dors. There is a circumstance connected with the entry of the Earl of Arundel's name on this roll which it is important to notice. In the copies of the writ printed both in Dugdale and in the Peerage Report (Append. No. 1. p. 836.) it is said to be addressed "Joh'i Comiti A.....": in the margin, opposite the name, the words "non h'uit br'e" (non habuit breve) are inserted as a part of the original; and a note at the foot of the page, in the Peerage Report,

Claimed by
Thomas
Mowbray.

coheirs. Of these the eldest had married Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, who seems to have imagined that, in right of his wife, he had acquired a claim to the inheritance of the Castle; and at his suit, therefore, proceedings were immediately commenced, for the purpose of dispossessing the existing tenant. Of the real ground on which the Duke's title was supposed to rest

informs the reader that the "name is erased in the record." The first question which suggested itself to my mind, on perusing this extraordinary statement, was, "by whom and at what period was this erasure made, and this marginal annotation affixed?"—and, as neither Dugdale nor the Lords' Committee offered any information on the subject, I resolved at once to apply to the original document in the Tower, and seek whatever elucidation might there present itself. The suspicions, which, I confess, I had entertained, were completely verified. On examining the roll, I found that the letters "*rundell*," which were still partially visible, instead of being fairly erased, had been rudely scratched out with the point of some sharp instrument; that the words in the margin were written neither with the same ink, nor in the same character, as the body of the roll; and that, in short, a forgery of the most clumsy description had been perpetrated, with the visible object of destroying the convincing evidence of this entry in behalf of the Castle and Earldom of Arundel. Nor is it difficult to form a conjecture as to the period at which this dishonest proceeding took place. In Prynne's Abridgment of the Records, published in 1658, the name of the Earl of Arundel, copied from this roll, is inserted at full length, without any mention of an erasure, and without any marginal notice whatever; and it is, therefore, only fair to conclude that, when Prynne made his extracts, the alteration had not been effected, (see Prynne, p. 549). About thirty years later, Dugdale printed his edition of the "Summonses." At that time, the roll was in its present state, and it is not unlikely that the disputes, to which the controversy between Brooke and Vincent had given rise, and which then prevailed, on the subject of the earldom, had some share in producing the interpolation.

nothing is known; for the pleadings in the early stages of the business have not been preserved, and the subsequent averment of his son, relative to a separate entail, is the only information which has survived to guide us in our conjectures.^a But whatever were its nature, the claim appears to have been sufficiently strong to create a doubt in the royal mind. Henry was evidently alive to the importance of the controversy: he saw that in its decision a subject of higher moment than that of mere property, the right of succession to the dignity of Earl, was in reality involved; and he felt the necessity, consequently, of ascertaining the legal claimant of the Castle, before he admitted either of the litigants to the enjoyment of its appendant honours. Hence the writ of summons to parliament, which was issued to John Fitzalan, as Earl of Arundel, in September, 1416, was not afterwards renewed.

Henry died in 1422: the Earl of Arundel had de-

Proceed-
ings insti-
tuted in
conse-
quence of
his claim.

^a “ Oonly agayns the saide lorde Mautravers for the right and enheritance of your said warde touchant the Castell honour and lordship of Arundell to your saide warde entailed.” Rot. Parl. IV. 442. There is reason, however, to suspect that, for the sake of giving colour to this assertion, recourse had been had to some unfair practices. From the Rot. Parl. V. 397, it appears that, on the death of Earl Thomas, Elizabeth Duchess of Norfolk, in conjunction with the other heirs general, had seized and carried off from the Castle all the charters and other evidences relating to the property; and that, even so late as 1423, and probably much later, they had not been restored.

but, although the son by whom he was succeeded was still a minor, Fitzalan, who had not only attained his majority, but had also distinguished himself in the French wars, resolved to avail himself of the interest he possessed, and obtain, if possible, the recognition of his title. From the camp—he was still in France—he addressed a petition to the King. Without adverting to the disputed claim by which his tenure was supported, he simply represented himself as the actual proprietor both of the Castle, and of the dignity which belonged to it. By the title of Earl of Arundel, he recalled to the monarch the recollection of his past and present services: he reminded him that “his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, by “reason of its Castle, Honour, and Lordship, which “they held, and to which the name of Earl had always “been annexed, had possessed a seat in the parliaments “and councils of his royal progenitors from a period “to which memory did not extend;” and he concluded by praying that, in consequence of his present seizin, the privileges of his ancestors might be restored in him, and that “he might be received to his place to sit as “well in the parliaments as in the councils of the King, “as Earl of Arundel.” This request, which appears to have been seconded by the earnest recommendations of the regent, Bedford, and his council, was instantly met, as might have been expected, by the opposite claim of the young Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman at once denied the right of his opponent to the possession of the Castle: he asserted his own title both to that and to the appendant dignity of Earl, as son and heir to John, late Duke of Norfolk, who, he maintained, had already replied to all the averments of the other side;

and he prayed that, as, during his nonage, “all the evidences which in this matter would make the proof of his title and right” must necessarily remain in the King’s hands, he might not be compelled to “have other resort for salvation of his said inheritance but unto the King’s protection,” and that, until the termination of his minority, “nothing might be proceeded nor put in execution to his disinheritance nor hurt.” In a second petition, he added that “*the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of Arundel, with other divers castles, lordships, and manors, had been entailed on him* : but it was urged that the claim of a minor against a party in possession, if unsupported by any record, could form no bar in law to the prosecution of that party’s rights : and with a view, therefore, to a final decision, John Fitzalan, by the title of Earl of Arundel, was ordered to produce a written statement of his case for the consideration of the royal advisers. The Earl obeyed this injunction.^a In the same words which he had previously adopted in his petition, he re-asserted the privilege which his ancestors, as proprietors of the Castle, had always enjoyed : he referred to the settlement made by Earl Richard, in 1347 ; traced his own descent as the grandson of John, third son to the said Richard ; and averring his actual seizin of the Castle, demanded of right that seat in parliament and council, which his predecessors, by virtue of the same seizin, had always possessed. This statement was re-

^a His plea is thus headed :—“ Cest le tittle monstre a nostre souverain seigneur le roi pur son humble liege John Count d’Arundell, ore à present en son service deins son roialme de Fraunce, *de son lieu pur seier si bien en son parlement come en son counseill come Count d’Arundell.*” Rot. Parl. IV. 442.

Judgment
is pro-
nounced.

ferred to the King's council, assisted by the judges and the other law advisers of the crown; and a long discussion of the evidence by which it was supported accordingly ensued.^a At length judgment was pronounced. "Considering"—such was its recital—"that Richard Fitzalan, cousin and one of the heirs of Hugh de Albin, formerly Earl of Arundel, was seized of the Castle, Honour, and Lordship in fee; that by reason of his possession thereof he was, without other reason or creation, Earl of Arundel, and held the name, dignity, and honour, together with the place and seat in parliament and in council, of Earl of Arundel; that he held the same during his life, and enjoyed it without opposition, reclamation, or impediment; therefore, the King, influenced by these and other considerations, contemplating the person of the present claimant, now Earl of Arundel, to whom the aforesaid Castle, Honour, and Lordship have descended by special hereditary right, weighing the distinguished merits of the man, whose wisdom in council and bravery in the field have called forth the repeated solicitations of the regency of France in behalf of his present suit, and willing moreover to accord to his high deserts that measure of speedy justice which might be safely administered without injury to the rights of others, has, with the advice and assent of the Prelates, Dukes, Earls, and Barons, in this present parliament assembled, admitted John, now Earl of Arundel, to the place and seat anciently belonging to the Earls of

^a "Auditis hinc inde nonnullis profundis et maturis rationibus, allegationibus, et motivis." *Ib.* 443.

“ Arundel in parliament and council, and has decreed
 “ that he is henceforth to be admitted to the same, to
 “ hold them in the same manner and with the same
 “ privileges as his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, have
 “ heretofore possessed them. Provided, however, that
 “ in this respect no prejudice shall arise to any title,
 “ right, or interest, either of the King, or of the Duke
 “ of Norfolk, or of any other person; but that the title,
 “ right, and interest in the premises, as well of the King
 “ as of the Duke of Norfolk and every other person, shall
 “ remain safe and untouched, the present ordinance,
 “ will, and decree, in any thing notwithstanding.”^a On
 this decision, and the controversy which preceded it,
 some observations are necessary.

1°. It is clear from the whole form of the proceedings
 that the title of Earl, as distinct from the possession of
 the Castle, was never the subject of litigation. Arundel
 had obtained the latter under the settlement of Earl
 Richard, and demanded of right the recognition of the
 dignity attached to it: Norfolk acknowledged the ex-
 istence of the dignity as an inseparable adjunct to the
 property, but denied that the property itself had been
 legally vested in his adversary. He opposed the assump-
 tion of the title by Fitzalan, in order to try the validity
 of his claim to that which conferred it: and the King,
 who never appears to have questioned the privilege of
 the Castle, was necessarily bound to ascertain its real
 owner, before he admitted either of the parties to the
 exercise of its appendant rights. Nor was it, as some-
 times asserted, “ *necessary* for the Duke of Norfolk to
 “ agree with his opponent in the assertion that the

Nature
 of the Con-
 troversy.

^a Rot. Parl. IV. 441—443.

“dignity was annexed to the Castle.”^a It is true, indeed, that if he had acknowledged the Earldom to be a personal dignity, he would, so far, have placed it in abeyance between the coheirs of Earl Thomas: but it is also true that the Castle itself, if not settled on the heirs male, must have been equally the property of those coheirs; and if, therefore, the title were the real object of his pursuit, there was no more impediment to his challenging the personal dignity, to the exclusion of the other coheirs, than to his claiming the entirety of that property in which, according to his own argument, they must have had a parity of interest with himself.

And of
the de-
cision.

2°. The judgment pronounced in parliament was simply declaratory. Its first object was the settlement of the property in dispute: its second, the admission of the claimant, John Fitzalan, to his seat in the councils of the nation. The legislature by this proceeding neither created nor conferred a title of dignity. It acknowledged that the Earldom was indissolubly united with the Castle: it sought the rightful owner of that Castle according to the order of entail; and, having discovered him in the person of the actual tenant, merely affirmed that he was already Earl by virtue of his tenure, and admitted him to the exercise of those privileges which belonged to the property.

3°. Hence it is evident that the decision, instead of “operating as a severance of the dignity of Earl from the Castle,”^b in reality confirmed by its testimony the union which it admitted to exist between them: that the saving clause, at the conclusion of the decree, in favour of the Duke of Norfolk, was no otherwise illusory

^a First Peerage Report, p, 405.

^b Ibid. 427.

than as it referred to rights which were not supposed to have any real foundation; and that, if the Duke, by judgment of law, could subsequently have established his claim to the Castle, he must have recovered not only that, but also the dignity and privileges, which were thus acknowledged to be its inseparable appurtenances. Fitzalan was pronounced to have been already Earl before the decision of his claim, solely because "the castle, honour, and lordship had descended to him by special hereditary right:" let it have been shewn that such right was really vested in another, and the person thus establishing his title of inheritance, whether the Duke of Norfolk or any other of the coheirs, must thenceforth have become Earl of Arundel.^a

^a The object and effect of the saving clause is well explained by Vincent. "It intends," he says, "not any saving from the body of the Act touching the uniting of the Castle and Earldom, but a particular reservation to Mowbray of his interest in the possession of the Castle of Arundel, whereunto, in his petition to the Parliament, he had pretended." *Discovery of Brooke's Errors*, p. 560.

By referring to a statement made by Dugdale, that John Fitzalan had been styled Earl of Arundel in a royal commission issued in the eighth year of Henry the sixth, an attempt is made in the Peerage Report, (405, 427) to shew that he was thereby created Earl in virtue of the King's prerogative; and that consequently his tenure of the Castle was wholly unconnected with the Earldom and its privileges, which were subsequently awarded to him. Were this really the case, it might still be enquired why the same prerogative did not at once summon him to parliament? and what necessity could possibly have existed for suspending his privileges as Earl, until his property in the Castle had been ascertained? But the statement, at least in its implied sense, is not correct. Had the Lords' Committee consulted the rolls, they would have discovered that the title, in this instance, was

4°. Though the entry on the rolls of parliament has sufficiently explained the general nature both of the controversy and the decision, yet, in the details of the proceedings, the report which has survived to us is confessedly imperfect; and the fact, therefore, “that no mention is made of any evidence produced by the Earl to shew the immemorial usage under which he claimed,”^a will scarcely of itself afford a reasonable ground for the assumption that no such evidence was in reality laid before the court. That it was, indeed, neither offered nor demanded there may be good reason to believe; because, as all parties agreed in acknowledging the privileges of the Castle, there was no necessity for agitating the question. Yet, supposing that such an investigation was actually pursued, abundant testimony may have been given in support of the Earl’s claim, with which we are wholly unacquainted. We know that the cause was litigated during a period of eighteen years, under two successive monarchs, and by two distinct parties: we are expressly told that it was referred to the consideration of the judges and of the most eminent lawyers of the time; and we are assured that it was not until “many weighty and profound reasonings, allegations, and convincing statements had been heard,” that the decision of the king was at length pronounced.^b What those statements were has not been recorded: but it is attributed as a form of simple courtesy. In the Rot. Franc. 12 Hen. 6. m. 10. John Fitzalan is mentioned as “Earl of Arundel:” and yet, in a subsequent member of the same roll (m. 15), he is designated as “*Joannes se dicens Comitem Arundell.*” Other instances occur both in the tenth and eleventh years.

^a Peerage Rep. 427.

^b Rot. Parl. IV. 443.

impossible to suppose that men experienced in the art of sifting evidence could have overlooked what would then have been the principal point in the enquiry, or that persons of different tempers and varying interests could have concurred in omitting to demand a proof of the very circumstance, on which their judgment was to be formed. If the subject were judicially examined, it is clear that some testimony must have been exhibited in behalf of the Castle, and this would of course be included among the "reasonings, allegations, and convincing statements" mentioned on the roll: if, on the other hand, the subject were not judicially examined, it is equally clear that the right of the Castle to ennoble its possessor could never have been disputed; that its existence was admitted by the legislature as a matter of acknowledged and undoubted certainty; and consequently that "the immemorial usage," which, it has been said, was first pleaded in the reign of Henry the fifth or his successor, had, at that period, assumed the form of a long-standing popular tradition. To the objection regarding the error on the roll, which designates *Richard Fitzalan* as "cousin and one of the heirs" of Earl Hugh,^a it is only necessary to reply by a single question:—which is the more probable supposition, that the lawyers and judges of the land, who had studied the question and who, with the single exception of the name "*Richard*," describe the successor of Earl Hugh in the very words of the contemporary rolls, should either ignorantly or dishonestly have omitted two generations; or that the clerk, in transcribing the proceedings, should

^a Peerage Rep. 428.

have recurred to a name which frequent repetition had just impressed upon his mind, and thus inadvertently inserted "*Richard*," where he ought more correctly to have written "*John?*" Certainly the Lords' committee have charged the clerks with blunders far more unlikely than this.

Report of
the Lords'
Committee
on the dig-
nity of a
Peer.

But an attempt has been made to shew from specific evidence that Richard, though the Castle had been held both by his father and by his grandfather, was in reality the first Earl of his family, and moreover the first Earl of Arundel; that of the families of Montgomery and de Albini none had ever possessed that dignity; and that consequently the assertion on the roll, which attributes the Earldom to the tenure of the Castle, is in direct opposition to the fact. The argument on this subject is contained in a "Report from the Lords' Committees" "on the dignity of a Peer of the Realm," which is generally known to have been drawn up by the late Lord Redesdale, and to which the reader has already been frequently referred. The report itself is an ill written, rambling, and, in the present as well as other instances, a prejudiced performance. It is filled with conclusions the most startling, and assertions the most contradictory: it teems with conjectures and surmises of the most confident and commodious description; but it contains also much valuable information, and abounds with such evidences of deep research as have secured for it no trifling degree of authority among writers even of a superior class. Hence it becomes the more necessary to notice its misstatements, and expose the ignorance, either real or affected, which it too frequently betrays. On the present subject the instances of these

are numerous; ^a but it will not be necessary to follow the noble author in all his details, or trace him in all his references, through the various documents which he cites. A few specimens will suffice to shew the weight which his theory should possess in opposition to the solemn judicial declaration of parliament.

After a lengthened dissertation on the inconveniences which might result from a union between the dignity of the peerage and the tenure of alienable property,—a dissertation which, if it mean any thing, assumes as the basis of its argument that no act can emanate either from the King or from the legislature, until every objection has been foreseen, and every impediment to its execution removed,—Lord Redesdale proceeds to open his attack on the antiquity of the title, by which the

Strictures
on Lord
Redesdale's
arguments
concerning
the Earl-
dom.

^a One assertion not altogether unconnected with the present enquiry I cannot forbear to notice. “A right,” says the reporter, “to be summoned to parliament, by reason of tenure of any land, denominated at any time a barony, does not appear by any document, which the Committee have discovered, to have been asserted in the reign of Edward the first, or in the reign of any of his successors, till the claim made by Edward Nevill to be summoned to parliament by writ, in respect of his possession of the barony of Bergavenny, in the reign of James the first. For the claim of the dignity of Earl of Arundel, asserted in the reign of Henry the sixth, *was a claim of the dignity of Earl by prescription,*” &c. (Third Report, p. 118). What then is the meaning of the passage in the Earl of Arundel's petition, which Lord Redesdale himself thus translates?—“He prayed by his petition *to be received to his place, to sit as well in the King's parliament as in the King's council, as Earl of Arundel, considering that his ancestors, Earls of Arundel, had had their place to sit in parliaments and councils of the King's progenitors, for time whereof memory did not run, by reason of the Castle, honour and lordship of Arundel.*” First Rep. 405.

In the time
of Montgo-
mery.

possessors of Arundel Castle are distinguished. His observations, or at least that portion of them on which it will here be necessary to remark, are directed to three distinct periods, and refer to four persons, neither of whom, as he contends, was Earl of Arundel. The first is Roger Montgomery. That nobleman, as the reader will recollect, obtained from the Conqueror the Castle and Honour of Arundel: he received a grant also of the city of Chichester; and was invested with the town of Shrewsbury, the county of Shropshire, and the whole of the demesne lands which the Confessor had there possessed. In Domesday, says Lord Redesdale, “ he is “ styled ‘ Rogerus Comes’ : by historians “ and antiquarians he has been sometimes called Earl of “ Shrewsbury, sometimes Earl of Sussex, some- “ times Earl of Chichester, and sometimes Earl of Arun- “ del: but he is a witness to the charter of foundation “ of Battle Abbey, preserved in the Harleian collection “ in the British Museum, by the appellation of ‘ Roger “ Comes de Muntgumery’ without more;” and there- fore, argues the reporter, he was Earl neither of Shrews- bury, nor of Sussex, nor of Chichester, nor of Arundel, nor of any other place: for “ little reliance ought to be “ placed on the different appellations given to him either “ in records, or by historians;” and, from the various names by which others are described, “ it should seem “ that the appellation of ‘ Comes’ or Earl, simply, was “ the name of dignity, and that the local addition, *if it “ did not apply to a county palatine*, was a mere addition “ of distinction.” A few lines further, however, his Lordship remembers the objection which may be raised to his theory, from the probable circumstance that Mont-

gomery was in reality Earl Palatine of Shropshire. It is true, he says, that Earl Roger “having a grant of the “whole county of Salop, may have had some degree of “authority within that district by virtue of the grant. “He had also, probably, the dignity of ‘Comes’ in “Normandy:” but it is evident that his authority was never that of Earl Palatine, because in that case he must have borne the title of the county in which it lay, and “the Committee do not find that he was ever, even by “any historian or antiquary, called Earl of Shropshire “or Salop.”^a

This passage presents a fair specimen of the reasoning adopted by Lord Redesdale through the whole of his argument. If a document or historian contradict his peculiar theory, the opposing evidence is instantly rejected as of no authority: if, on the other hand, the

^a First Rep. 406—408. In the third Report, however, the Committee have discovered that there may, perhaps, be some evidence to prove that Montgomery was really Earl Palatine of Shropshire. “If “reliance can be had on the authority cited by Selden, in his Titles of “Honour, his son, Hugh de Belesme, was, in a record of the tenth— “(it should be the twentieth)—of Edward the First, called a Palatine. “Earl Roger may therefore have been considered as an Earl Palatine, “as the Earl of Chester was.” (p. 164). Selden, it is true, cites this record on the authority of Vincent, but says that, on searching for it, he had been unable to find it: the Committee may therefore be pardoned for the hesitation with which they appear to admit its authority. They ought, however, to have known that there was other less questionable evidence. In the *Placita Coronæ*, 25 Ed. 1. in *Calumpnia Comitatus Salop*, amongst other franchises the “Comonalty” claim “*etre quietes de Engleschire, pur ceo que Rogerus Betthleem (Belesme) fuste Count de Palay de ceo Counte avant que le eschete devint en la meyn nre Sr. le roy.*”—The record is copied in MS. Harl. 4840. f. 232, 233.

same document or the same historian appear to coincide with his views, the favourable sentence is forthwith produced as a testimony from which there is no appeal. Even the silence of the record or the writer is deemed a sufficient ground for a conclusion ; and the mere absence of a negative upon his assumptions is converted into a positive attestation in their favour. In the present instance, the concurring voice of historians and antiquarians is unceremoniously rejected, not because it is shewn to be in opposition to any more authentic evidence, but simply because Earl Roger, in affixing his signature to a certain instrument, omitted to decorate it with all the titles which he bore ; whilst, at the same time, these identical historians and antiquarians, on whose direct assertions so “ little reliance ought to be placed,” are, on another point, referred to as an infallible authority, for the sole, but very satisfactory, reason that they are supposed to have said nothing on the subject ! It is true, indeed, that Lord Redesdale, by telling us of the Committee’s inability to discover that Earl Roger “ was ever, even by any historian or antiquarian, called Earl of Salop,” has only made us acquainted with his own or the Committee’s want of information ; because, without going further, had he only condescended to look either at Brompton or at Knyghton, he would easily have found sufficient to disabuse him of his error.^a But this discovery would have destroyed the whole fabric of his reasoning. Deprived of the negative testimony which he drew from the imaginary silence of historians, he would have had no ground to question the authority of

^a Brompt. 984. 988. Knyght. 2359. 2365.

Montgomery as that of Earl Palatine in Shropshire: that authority, as the report acknowledges, must at least have conferred on him the title of Earl of Salop; and then the evidence of the document in the British Museum, and the inferences sought to be deduced from the signature which it bears, must have fallen unavailing to the earth. If, as we know to have been the fact, Earl Roger were really Earl Palatine of Shropshire, it is clear that one name of dignity, at least, is omitted in the signature; and the silence, therefore, of that signature, with regard to other similar names, can offer no argument against the assertions of those historians who describe him as Earl of Sussex, or Earl of Arundel.—As to the variety of appellations under which he appears, Selden has shewn that Sussex was sometimes called the “County of Chichester;”^a and it is not improbable that the same liberty may have been used with Shrewsbury and Shropshire.

The honours of Earl Roger, whatever were their nature, continued to be enjoyed by his family, till the forfeiture and banishment of his son Robert, in 1102: hence, the next effort of the reporter is directed against William de Albini, the second husband of Queen Adeliza, on whom the Castle and Honour of Arundel had been settled in dower under her former marriage with King Henry the first. Adeliza’s interest, as Lord Redesdale acknowledges, was “apparently only for her life:” at her death, the estate must regularly have reverted to the crown; and the assertion, therefore, that the grant in dower “seems to have been the foundation

Of de Albini.

^a Titles of Hon. 652.

of the title, under which the property is now enjoyed,"^a is at least as incorrect, as it is certainly extraordinary.

But to what period are we to refer the acquisition of the Castle in fee by de Albini?—Lord Redesdale informs his readers that, though the Empress Maud may have given, and Stephen may have confirmed, the earldom to this nobleman, "the Committee have found no direct evidence of any such grant either of the Empress or of Stephen:" he tells them that an entry in the Testa de Nevill, declaring that Henry the second "gave the whole Rape of Arundel, with its appurtenances, to William Earl of Arundel, tends to disprove the fact of any previous grant;" and he cites a charter, without date, from Henry himself, by which that monarch professes to confer on "William, Earl of Arundel," not only "the Castle of Arundel, with the whole honour of Arundel, and all its appurtenances," but also "the third penny from the pleas of the county of Sussex, *unde Comes est.*"^b Lord Redesdale could scarcely have foreseen the

^a Rep. 408.

^b Ib. 409. These words are generally understood to signify "*wherefore he is Earl,*" as if the dignity of the Earldom were consequential on the enjoyment of the revenue derived from the third penny. It may, perhaps, be presumptuous to dispute a received interpretation; yet to me it has always appeared that the words in question were intended to mean "*of which he is Earl,*" or, in other terms, that the Earl was to receive the third penny from the pleas of that county, *from which he derived his title.*—That the dignity was not the consequence, but the reason, of the revenue, is evident from a passage in the Dialogue of the Exchequer, in which the King is said to grant the third penny to those whom he had created Earls, *on account of their dignity:—et ratione dignitatis illius hæc conferenda decernit.*" P. 33. apud Madox.

effect of this argument. If no grant existed prior to that of Henry, it follows that, up to the date of that instrument, the possession of William de Albini was solely in right of his wife; that he held the castle as the dower of her former marriage; and that his interest in the property, like her own, was terminable with her life. Yet during this period he is known to have been styled "Earl of Arundel." Dugdale saw a patent in the Tower which, in the eighteenth year of King Stephen (1153) spoke of him by that name: Stephen himself, in a confirmation grant to the church of Chichester, which is without date, mentions him by the same appellation:^a Gervase and the other historians perpetually describe him in a similar manner;^b and it is evident, therefore, that the title, which was thus borne even by a temporary possessor of the Castle, must have formed, at that time, an inseparable appendage to the property. Nor can we suppose him to have been denominated Earl of Arundel merely from the place of his residence. Until his marriage with Queen Adeliza, he was only Lord of Buckenham: he may have been a baron, but certainly was not an earl; and unlike the Earls of Pembroke and Derby, who possessed the dignity independent of the castles from which they sometimes received their local designation, he manifestly derived the very dignity itself, as well as the distinctive title, from the possession of the property.

The reader will have remarked that the preceding argument is founded on the mere *probability*, which Lord Redesdale has suggested, that the Castle of Arundel was

^a Lib. B. vol. xviii. fol. 12^b in the Bishop's Registry at Chichester.

^b Decem Scriptores, col. 1373.

first granted to William de Albini by Henry the second : there is, however, positive evidence to prove that such was in reality the fact. In a charter from “ William Earl of Arundel,” which is printed by Dugdale, that nobleman conveys certain lands to the monks of Boxgrove, for the health, amongst others, of “ King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda ;” and he distinctly assigns the “ gift of the honour of Arundel ” as a reason for this special mention of his sovereign.^a It is certain, therefore, that no grant either from the Empress or from Stephen could possibly have existed ; and that the charter of Henry, which has generally been called a confirmation, was itself the original assignment of the property in fee. Hence, the correctness of the assertion in the Testa de Nevill,^b that “ King Henry, father of the Empress Matilda, held the Rape of Arundel as his escheat,” is incontestably established. Queen Adeliza died in 1151 :^c Henry succeeded to the throne in 1154 ; and the Castle and its appurtenances, which, during the intermediate period, must have reverted to the crown, were of course obtained by him, at his accession, with the rest of the royal demesnes.

The grant from Henry to William de Albini was probably issued the same year. The latter had already secured the regard of the monarch, and we may fairly suppose that this mark of favour to one of his most useful friends would be amongst the earliest acts of the new sovereign. Certain it is that the instrument was drawn

^a Hæc autem omnia dedi pro salute Domini mei Henrici, Regis, filii Matildis imperatricis, dono cujus honorem Arundellie habui.” Monast. I. 593.

^b Sussex, 81.

^c Annales Marganenses, p. 7.

up before 1161 ; for it is witnessed, amongst others, by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in the April of that year.^a

The object of the charter was twofold : first, to invest the grantee with an hereditary interest in the property, from which he had already derived a temporary name of dignity : secondly, to create a new dignity in addition to the former, and to assign to him a revenue from the county, from which his additional title was to be assumed. Hence, his true style of honour, *under this creation*, was undoubtedly “ Earl of Sussex : ” but his not less legitimate, and certainly more ancient, appellation, *by virtue of his tenure*, was “ Earl of Arundel.” He possessed two distinct titles of nobility, the one personal, the other local ; and by these indifferently himself, and his successors of his own family, continued afterwards to be distinguished. A charter of confirmation, granted by his grandson to the Abbey of Essay, thus adopts them :—“ I, William, *Earl of Sussex*, have given and confirmed . . . the church of Bissenton . . . with the lands and tithes thereto belonging, which were originally granted by William, *the venerable Earl of Arundel*.”^b Another, and, if possible, even a stronger testimony to the same effect is found in the Close Roll of the third year of Henry the third. It is a mandate directed by the King to the sheriff of Sussex ; and orders him to pay to “ William, *Earl of Arundel*, the sum of twenty marks from the profits of the county, which

^a Godwin, de Præsul. Anglic. 71. The charter is printed by Selden, Titles of Honour, p. 651 ; and by Vincent, Discov. p. 20.

^b Dugd. Monast. I. 593.

he is accustomed to receive annually, *as Earl of Sussex.*"^a

And of
Fitzalan.

The succession of the family of Fitzalan to that portion of the estates of Earl Hugh de Albini, which comprised the Castle and Honour of Arundel, leads to the other division of Lord Redesdale's argument. Its object is to shew that, though John Fitzalan, who obtained possession in 1243, and John, his son, were successively

^a "Rex Vicecōm Sussex, Salut. Prcipimus tibi quod sine dilatione facias haberi Will^r. Comiti Arundell xx marcas de exitibus comitatûs tui, quas habere debet per annum, et habere consuevit, *nomine Comitis Sussex.*" Claus. 3 Hen. 3. m. 13.—The Lords' Committee, in their third Report, referring to the authority of a passage in the Dialogue of the Exchequer, seem to conclude that the dignity of Earl was solely and necessarily personal (p. 86.); and that consequently William de Albini could not have been "an Earl of a description different from the general description thus given in the Dialogue," (p. 164). With deference, however, to the Committee and their reporter, the meaning of the passage in question is the opposite of that which they have been pleased to assign to it. Having spoken of the third penny which Earls were generally allowed to receive from the pleas of the counties, the question naturally arises—"Numquid ex singulis comitatibus comites ista percipiunt?" The respondent seems to mistake the object of the question, and supposing it to relate to the Earls who receive, instead of the counties which pay, the third penny, replies by informing the querist that all Earls do not possess this revenue:—"Nequaquam: sed *hii tantum ista percipiunt, quibus regum munificentia, obsequii præstiti vel eximiæ probitatis intuitu, comites sibi creat, et ratione dignitatis illius hæc conferenda decernit, quibusdam hereditarie, quibusdam personaliter.*" Dial. p. 33. apud Madox.—Surely, if *only those Earls* received the third penny, who had been created by the king's grace and favour, it follows that some other Earls existed, who had not been so created, and who therefore did not receive the emolument in question.

lords of the Castle, they were never considered as Earls of Arundel: and the means by which this is sought to be established is, by appealing to the very records, on which the reporter had before assured us so “ little reliance ought to be placed;” by loading his pages with extracts whose authority at best must depend on the accuracy of their language; and by proving, not that any contemporary documents have *denied* the right of these persons to the earldom, but that they have *omitted* to describe them under those names of dignity, which are exclusively applicable to that branch of nobility.^a With the evidence which he already possesses, the reader will scarcely deem it necessary to discuss the merits of this extraordinary method of reasoning. If, at the accession of William de Albini, the title of Earl were really an appendant to the Castle, it must have

^a As specimens of what Lord Redesdale thought of these records on other occasions, let the reader take the following out of thousands. “ The inaccuracy of language in many of the instruments of this time “ (the reign of Henry the third) seems to render it doubtful what reliance can be placed on the use of the particular words.” (1 Report, 147). “ Considering the inaccuracy of language used in writs at this “ time, and indeed, at a much later period, it may be doubted,” &c. (Ibid. 162.). “ Records and authentic documents of various descriptions, during the reign of Edward (the first) were probably framed “ with more accuracy and attention, *especially towards the close of his* “ *reign*, than in the time of his predecessors.” (Ib. 167). It is worth remarking that the whole of Lord Redesdale’s argument against the title of the first two members of the Fitzalan family, who held the Castle, is founded on records dated during the very period to which he assigns this inaccuracy of language: whilst, from the time at which he acknowledges these documents to have been “ framed with more accuracy and attention,” the possessors of the Castle are in them invariably styled Earls.

been equally so in the time of John Fitzalan, and that of his successors: and it can matter little, therefore, whether he and they are mentioned by their rightful appellation, or whether, in certain instruments, whose "inaccuracy of language" has been denounced by Lord Redesdale himself, they are described in other less definite, and perhaps less appropriate, terms.

But there is one point which so forcibly illustrates the spirit in which the report is written, that it is impossible to pass it over in silence. In the thirty-fifth year of King Edward the first (1307) a mandate was issued to the Barons of the Exchequer, directing them to ascertain what debts were due from Edmund, Earl of Arundel, to the crown, either on his own account or on that of any of his ancestors. To this mandate a return was made of various sums standing in the name of "John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel;" and the recognition of the title, thus distinctly set forth as existing in that nobleman, has since been constantly appealed to by antiquarians in support of the privileges of the Castle. Though the document itself is of a later date, yet its details are necessarily copied from records which were contemporary with the person to whom they refer. Its testimony, therefore, has hitherto been deemed unexceptionable; and the justness of the inferences, which have been deduced from it, has been generally and willingly acknowledged. These inferences, however, are in direct opposition to the theory of Lord Redesdale and the Committee. To overthrow the evidence on which they are founded became an object with the reporter: and, as few persons were likely to consult the rolls, a trifling omission in the recital of the record

might, it was thought, easily escape detection. Hence, the following is the summary and ingenious process by which his lordship disposes of this instrument. “ In a
 “ mandate entered on the Patent roll of the thirty-fifth
 “ of Edward the first, m. 14..... is this passage :
 “ ‘ Quod idem Edmundus tenetur ad scaccarium præ-
 “ dictum in ciii li. xvi s. ix d. de duobus debitis quæ
 “ inveniuntur in rotulis scaccarii prædicti sub nomine
 “ Johannis Filii Alani, quondam Comitum Arundell, an-
 “ tecessoris prædicti Edmundi,’ &c.”—Here the reporter
 closes his extract, and having informed us that “ this is
 “ the only record which the Committee have found, at-
 “ tributing the title of Earl either to John the grandfather,
 “ or John the great grandfather of Earl Edmund,” pro-
 ceeds to suggest a doubt “ whether the words ‘ quondam
 “ Comitum Arundel’ were in rotulis scaccarii, or were added
 “ by the clerk who had searched the roll. The words on
 “ the roll,” he coolly adds, “ *may* have been ‘ Dom. Arun-
 “ dell.’”^a Now, without disputing as to what “ *may have*
been” on the roll, of which Lord Redesdale could have
 known nothing, it may, perhaps, be asked on what ground
 of reason or probability this convenient decision is pro-
 nounced: it may be enquired why no proof is offered in
 confirmation of so serious a charge against the knowledge
 or the honesty of the clerk; and, above all, it may chance to
 be demanded why the following not unimportant passages
 in the same record have been omitted in his lordship’s
 citation?—Continuing where he has closed his extract,
 the roll adds—“ Et in liij li. v s. qui inveniuntur ibidem
 “ sub nomine ipsius Johannis, de scutagio Walliæ, &c.....
 “ Et in c s. qui inveniuntur ibidem *sub nomine Comitum*

^a Rep. 422.

“ *Arundell*, antecessoris ipsius Edmundi, &c.: Et in xx s. qui inveniuntur ibidem *sub nomine dicti Comitum*, &c.: Et in XXI s. 1 ob. qui inveniuntur ibidem sub nomine “ *prædicti Johannis Filii Alani*,” &c. &c.—Here we have two other acknowledgments of the title of John Fitzalan, each as distinct as that recited by Lord Redesdale, and each moreover possessing the inconvenient property of being far more intractable to his purpose. To have converted either into “ Dom. Arundell ” would have been ridiculous: to have gratuitously accused the clerk of reiterated forgery would have been dangerous. The readiest method was to suppress the passages altogether, and leave the reader to imagine that, in “ the only record which the Committee had found,” the obnoxious title had been adopted but once!—Perhaps, however, it may be well to inform the Committee that the Patent of the thirty-fifth year of Edward the first, m. 14. is *not* the only record which describes John Fitzalan as Earl of Arundel. That Patent, in fact, was issued in consequence of the return which had been made to the King’s mandate, and for the purpose of relieving Earl Edmund from the payment of the various debts which it recites. The return still exists:^a and from that document are copied all the expressions which appear upon the Patent. The Patent, therefore, in reality, recognises the correctness of the terms by which John Fitzalan is designated.—To this it may be added that the continuator of Matthew Paris, speaking of the persons taken prisoners with Henry at the battle of Lewes, particularly distinguishes John Fitzalan the elder by the title of Earl of Arundel;^b an evidence of

^a Record. Pasch. 35 Ed. 1. Rot. 1. dors.

^b P. 853.

which the reporter thus characteristically disposes:—
 “the addition of Earl of Arundel *may have been made by some transcriber.*”^a

^a Rep. 415. The following out of numberless similar instances of Lord Redesdale’s habitual incorrectness will not, perhaps, be useless in determining the degree of authority which should attach to the assertions of that writer. He informs us that the pleadings in the Quo Warranto of the twentieth year of Edward the first, present “the first instance in which the Committee have found Richard Fitzalan styled Earl of Arundel,” (Rep. 420). If this be true, the enquiries of the Committee must have been very superficial. In an inquisition taken in the Exchequer in the eighteenth year of Edward the first (Rot. 3. Salop.), he is designated as “Comes Arundell:” and yet, to shew how groundless must be any argument that is raised on the mere omission of his title in these records, three years later, he is, in two separate entries, styled simply “Richard Fitzalan.” Abb. Plac. 231. Pasch. 21 Ed. 1. rot. 38 apud Peerage Rep. 420.

Lord Redesdale says that “the Committee have not discovered when John Fitzalan, the coheir of Hugh de Albini, had livery of his lands” (Rep. 413.): but, had the Committee condescended to examine the Fine Roll of the twenty-eighth year of Henry the third, their reporter would scarcely have found it necessary to make this avowal of their ignorance. It was in the year 1243, that he paid his relief, and obtained possession of the Castle and lands of Arundel. Fines. 28 Hen. 3. m. 6.

Lord Redesdale assures us that, “though heir to John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, commonly styled Earl of Warren and Surrey, Richard, Earl of Arundel, or his descendants, *never bore the title of Earl of Warren, or that of Earl of Surrey, until the son of John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was created Earl of Surrey.*” (Rep. 424.). The reader will, perhaps, scarcely believe that this assertion, so confidently advanced, is, in every part of it, except as regards the heirship of Earl Richard, in direct contradiction to the fact. 1°. Earl Richard himself is constantly described as “*Earl of Arundel and Surrey:*” among other instances, he is so styled in the Close Roll, 37 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 40. and p. 2. m. 17:—in the Patent Roll, 41 Ed. 3. m. 10:—and in the Close Rolls,

Case of
Philip
Howard,
Earl of
Arundel.

From the preceding remarks then it may be fairly inferred, first, that Lord Redesdale has failed in his attempt to overthrow the ancient privilege of the Castle; secondly, that not only John, the father, and John, the grandfather, of Earl Richard, but likewise Earl Hugh de Albini, from whom they inherited, and all his predecessors, were Earls of Arundel; thirdly, therefore, that the declaration of parliament in the twelfth year of Henry the sixth, incidentally attributing the Earldom to the possession of the Castle, was correct; and lastly, that that declaration was founded on the inspection of original documents, whose evidence was probably in-
42 Ed. 3. m. 25; and 44 Ed. 3. m. 10. 2°. His son and successor, Richard, is not only designated in a similar manner in the Close Roll, 50 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 25: but was absolutely summoned to parliament in 1392 (16 Ric. 2.) by the same title. To shew the accuracy of the Committee, or their reporter, the writ, addressed “Carissimo Consanguineo R̄ Ric̄o Comiti Arundell̄ et Surr̄,” is printed by themselves in the Appendix to their first Report, N°. 1. part 2. pag. 742. 3°. Thomas, the son of the preceding Richard, and the next successor to the earldom, is expressly called “the son and heir to Richard, *Earl of Arundel and Surrey*,” in the petition for his restoration presented in the first parliament of Henry the fourth (Rot. Parl. III. 435.): he himself is styled Earl of Arundel and Surrey in the proceedings instituted on that occasion; and is spoken of by the same title of dignity in the Patent Roll, 3 Hen. 5. p. 2. m. 33. On his death, without issue, in 1415, the possessions of the earldom of Surrey were divided among his four sisters; and the earldom itself, which appears to have been attached to the whole, and not to any individual portion, of the property, necessarily fell into abeyance. This abeyance was, however, terminated in 1451, in favour of John de Mowbray, great grandson of the eldest sister (Dugd. Bar. I. 131.), with whom the title continued till 1475: but at his decease it was suffered to expire, and was afterwards restored in the person of Thomas Howard, son of John, Duke of Norfolk, in 1483.

cluded under the “many weighty and profound reasonings, allegations, and convincing statements,” which, as we are assured by the rolls, preceded the final decision of the question. A case, which is recorded in the reign of Elizabeth, still further strengthens these conclusions. The reader will recollect the conveyance made by Lord Lumley of his life interest in the Castle and honour of Arundel to Philip Howard, the eldest son of Thomas, then late Duke of Norfolk.^a In consequence of that transaction, Howard, though he had obtained the property only by purchase, claimed the dignity which had been immemorially attached to it, and demanded to be summoned to parliament as Earl of Arundel. It was in the year 1580: his father had been attainted and beheaded only eight years before: he himself was not yet restored in blood; and the Queen’s council, therefore, determined to resist the claim, until a rigid examination should have convinced them of its validity. An enquiry, which was entrusted to Bromley, the Lord Chancellor, and Burleigh, the Treasurer, was consequently instituted, and a long and diligent investigation of the subject appears to have ensued. An original abstract of the proceedings is still preserved at Norfolk House.^b “Ffirst,” says that document, “yt
 “was fullie agreed on bothe p̄tes that the erledome of
 “Arundell was by prescripc̄on, the begyninge whereof
 “coulde not be shewed; and that the same was appur-
 “tenant and belonginge to the Castell of Arundell, in
 “suche sorte as hereafter yt is declared.

“*Yt appeared also,* BY DIVERS RECORDES AND EVIDENCES,

^a See page 19, ante.

^b Abstracts, Bundle B. N^o. 56.

“ *that Roger Mountgomery was Erle of Arundell, in
 “ respecte that he was lorde and owner of the Castell of
 “ Arundell, and that he was Erle thereof in William the
 “ Conqueror’s tyme.*

“ And that Robert, his sonne, forfeited his castell, dig-
 “ nite, &c. to Kinge H. the Firste, whoe graunted the
 “ Castle to Adeliza, after Queene of Englande; w^{ch}
 “ Adeliza after maryed William de Abanye, or Dau-
 “ benye,” from whom it descended to Henry Fitzalan,
 “ the last Erle of Arundell of that name, whoe deceased
 “ wthout heire male, and soe the Castell, and the erle-
 “ dome as belonginge to the same, did discend to the
 “ said Philip, as cosen and heire of Henry, Erle of
 “ Arundell,” &c.

To this, however, “ yt was obiected that the saide
 “ Henrie, Erle of Arundell, had conveyed the Castle to
 “ the L. Lumley and his heires, and, therefore, the erl-
 “ dome beinge appurtenant to the Castle, the said Philip
 “ coulde not be Erle of Arundell.” The deed of con-
 veyance, therefore, from Lumley to Philip Howard, was
 produced and verified; the legal possession of the Castle
 was established; and the claimant, by the unanimous
 decision of the council, was, in consequence, “ received
 “ into the place and title of Earl of Arundel, and so sate
 “ in Parliament almost two months before his restoring
 “ in blood.”^a Such was the result of an enquiry, opened
 at a time when the original “ records and evidences”
 were still in existence, and appointed for the express

^a Vincent, *Discovery*, p. 560. This decision offers a complete answer to Madox, who, in a laboured argument, maintains that the title could not possibly be obtained by the purchase of the castle. *Baronage*, 23.

purpose of overthrowing, if it were possible, the claim which had been asserted in behalf of the Castle.^a

^a The reader is aware that Lord Lumley, who sold his interest in the Castle to Philip Howard, had himself inherited it under a deed executed in 1570, which vested it in him and his wife for the term of their separate lives, with remainder to Philip Howard and his heirs. In that deed the following curious passage occurs. “ And forasmuch
 “ as the earldom of Arundel is the most ancient earldom of this realm,
 “ and that the said earldom, in case the said Earl of Arundel and the
 “ said Lady Jane (Lady Lumley) eldest daughter to the said Earl,
 “ should decease without issue of her body, is then to descend and
 “ come unto the said Earl of Surrey (P. Howard), or to the heirs of
 “ his body, as rightful heirs unto the same earldom of Arundel, there-
 “ fore the said Duke (of Norfolk) for him, his heirs, and executors,
 “ covenanteth and granteth to and with the said Earl of Arundel, that,
 “ after such descent of the honour and dignity of the said earldom of
 “ Arundel, the said Earl of Surrey and the heirs of his body shall, in
 “ all manner of writings, wherein he or they shall write or set forth
 “ his or their names of honour and dignity, *first place and write him
 “ and themselves Earl of Arundel, before the writing and placing of the
 “ name of Earl of Surrey ;* and shall also, in his and their arms, bear,
 “ set, and place the arms of the earldom of Arundel before the arms
 “ of the Earl Warren : And that, after such time as the name, honour,
 “ and dignity of Duke of Norfolk shall descend or come to the said
 “ Earl of Surrey, or to the heirs of his body, *then the son and heir
 “ apparent of the said Earl of Surrey and the heirs of his body,* in all
 “ writings, and in all common appellations and callings, *shall be
 “ written, named, and called the Earl of Arundel and Surrey.*” (From
 the original, at Norfolk House. Sussex, Box 7. Bundle A.). The obliga-
 tion of this part of the covenant was, indeed, annulled, as well by the
 subsequent attainder of Philip, Earl of Arundel, as by the resettlement
 of the property under the Act of the third of Charles the first : yet,
 in the only instance which occurred, previous to the accession of
 Charles, the father of the late Duke, of an heir apparent to the duke-
 dom, the provision was carefully adopted. A patent, dated December
 16, 1682, and constituting Henry, son and heir apparent to Henry,
 Duke of Norfolk, Governor of Windsor Castle, is addressed to him

Act of En-
tail, 3 Car.
1.

From this period till 1627 (3 Car. 1.), the Castle remained in undisputed possession of its privileges. In that year, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, obtained an act of parliament intituled “ An Act concerning the title, name, “ and dignity of Earl of Arundel, and for the annexing “ of the Castle, honour, manor, and lordship of Arundel, “ in the county of Sussex, with the titles and dignities “ of the baronies of Fitzalan, Clun and Oswaldestre, “ and Maltravers, and with divers other lands, tene- “ ments, and hereditaments hereafter in this Act men- “ tioned, being now parcel of the possessions of Thomas, “ Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, “ to the same title, name, and dignity of Earl of Arundel.” The act itself is in the form of a petition from the Earl, who begins by stating that the title “ hath been invari- ably used and enjoyed by those, who have had and en- joyed the inheritance of the Castle, honour and lordship of Arundel, and by reason of the said inheritance and seizin :” he says that the revenues which formerly sup- ported the dignity have been latterly impaired by aliena- tion; that similar inroads on the property may still be an- ticipated, unless some measure of prevention be adopted ; and that the most effectual means of preserving its in- tegrity will be to annex the Castle, honour and lordship, together with various other baronies, lordships, manors, &c. already in his possession, “ to the said title, name, “ and dignity of Earl of Arundel,” so that the Castle, with its annexments, “ may continually remain to those of the blood of the said Earl, that shall hereafter, *as aforesaid*, have, use, and enjoy the title, name, and dig- by the title of “ Lord Mowbray, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.” The original is at Norf. House. Patents, Bundle D.

nity of Earl of Arundel :” and he therefore prays “ that
“ it may be enacted that the said title, name, and dignity
“ of Earl of Arundel, and Castle, honour, and lordship
“ of Arundel, and the titles, names, and dignities of Lord
“ Fitzalan, Lord of Clun and of Oswaldestre, and Lord
“ Maltravers, and all places, pre-eminences, arms, en-
“ signs, and dignities to the said Earldom, Castle, honour,
“ and baronies belonging, and the borough and manor
“ of Arundel,” and various other property specified in
the Act, “ shall for ever stand, be, and remain estated,
“ conveyed, and assured, limited, and settled to him, the
“ said Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and the
“ heirs male of his body : and, for default of such issue,
“ to the heirs of his body : and, for default of such issue,
“ to his uncle, the Lord William Howard, and the heirs
“ male of his body : and, for default of such issue, to the
“ heirs of the body of the said Lord William Howard :
“ and, for default of such issue, to the said Thomas,
“ Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and his heirs for ever.”
Provided, inter alia, that, after the death of the lady
Aletheia, Countess of Arundel and Surrey, “ no right,
“ title, or interest of dower of or in the said Castle of
“ Arundel, or of any part or parcel thereof, shall come
“ or accrue to any woman whatsoever, that is or shall
“ be wife to any of them to whom the premises are
“ limited ;” and that neither the said Thomas, Earl of
Arundel and Surrey, nor any other person inheriting
under this act, shall hereafter alienate any portion of
the property thus settled, “ or any other thing do, which
“ shall or may be to the disherison of the heirs heritable
“ by force of this act, or whereby any of them shall be
“ tardier put from entry into the premises.”

Its mean-
ing and
object.

Of the real nature and effect of this enactment, beyond the restraint which it imposes on the alienation of the Castle and its annexed property, it is difficult to form an idea. It is, in fact, one of those anomalies, which are so common in the legislation of this country, and which seem to have been framed for the sole purpose of misleading the enquirer. Having stated in its title that its object is to annex the Castle, honour and lordship to the name and dignity of Earl of Arundel, it begins its recital by declaring that these very possessions are already, and have been immemorially, united: it acknowledges that the dignity has always been appurtenant to the Castle, yet it suggests, as the means of preserving the property from dilapidation, that this same Castle shall be appended to the dignity: it expresses an intention of limiting the inheritance of the Castle to those of the blood of Earl Thomas who shall become Earls "as aforesaid," that is, *by virtue of such inheritance*; and it concludes, in the enacting clause, by specifying the several remainders, under which alone the dignity of Earl, no less than the Castle, with its annexed baronies and manors, shall hereafter be obtained. To offer a satisfactory interpretation of this unmeaning, not to say contradictory, jargon, were a fruitless undertaking. To suppose, with Lord Redesdale, that it "has made the earldom of Arundel a personal dignity,"^a were, perchance, an assumption of more boldness than discretion: but, on the other hand, to maintain that it has distinctly left the rights of the Castle in the same incontrovertible integrity in which it found them, would, in all probability, prove nearly as hazardous to the disputant. Perhaps the

^a Rep. 431.

meaning of the legislature should be sought, not in the words of the enactment, but in the intention of the person who procured it. That intention is visible, as well in the recital, as in all the provisions, of the Act. Aware of the privileges of his castle, and proud of the distinction which it conferred, he was not likely to recite the tenure by which he possessed his dignity, for the mere purpose of destroying it, or to seek to illustrate his castle by depriving it of more than half its glory. His object was confessedly to prevent the future alienation or dismemberment of the property, "that so his successors might the better support" the magnificence of the earldom. Hence, his first care was to secure the Castle to his family, to annex to it the various estates which he deemed necessary to its importance, and to adorn its possession with the splendour of additional titles. It is impossible that he could willingly have allowed, far more that he could have suggested, an alteration which would have converted the "real and local dignity" into a merely personal name of honour: and the true intent of the legislature, therefore, most probably was, to leave the title undisturbed in its connexion with the property, but to provide for its permanence and support in the same family, by entailing the Castle on the blood of Earl Thomas, and uniting to it the other baronies and estates specified in the Act. That the earldom was not converted into a personal dignity is evident from the simple fact that, under the last clause of the limitations, it passes to Earl Thomas and *his heirs for ever*, whereas, had it been a personal dignity, it must have terminated with *the heirs of his body*.

A few remarks on some of the provisions and effects of this Act may, perhaps, be permitted. 1°. It has

Consequences of its provisions.

prevented the future alienation of the Castle, and, *so far*, has limited the title itself to those persons on whom the Castle is settled. Previous to this enactment, the transfer of the Castle, honour and lordship, whether by sale or otherwise, to any person whatever, was in reality a transfer of the name and dignity of Earl of Arundel: the dignity itself might become the subject of barter; and the peer and the commoner might exchange places as often as the wants, or the caprice, or the cupidity of the possessor prompted him to resign his interest in the property.^a This inconvenience is now effectually obviated: but whether the actual tenant may not alienate in favour of the next heir under the entail, may still,

^a Such a metamorphosis is ludicrously adverted to in an old ballad, entitled the “Heir of Linne,” which is preserved by Percy. “The Heir” by his prodigality had reduced himself to the necessity of selling his lands, and his steward, John o’ the Scales, offered to become the purchaser. The bargain was struck, the deeds were signed, and John

“ told him the gold upon the board,
 “ He was right glad his land to winne;
 “ The land is mine, the gold is thine,
 “ And now Ile be the Lord of Linne.”

But “the Heir” subsequently obtained the means of repurchasing the property, and John, who met him in the character of a beggar, and little imagined that he was possessed of money, offered in derision to sell it to him again. “The Heir,” taking him at his word, closed the contract, and, to the surprise and mortification of the “keen stewarde,”

“ He told him forth the good red gold,
 “ He told it forth with mickle dinne;
 “ The gold is thine, the land is mine,
 “ And now Ime againe the Lord of Linne.
 “ Now welladay! sayth Joan o’ the Scales,
 “ Now welladay! and woe is my life!
 “ Yesterday I was lady of Linne,
 “ Now Ime but John o’ the Scales his wife!”

Reliques of Eng. Poetry. II. 309.

perhaps, be disputed. The provisions of the parliamentary decree profess to interdict only such acts as may operate “to the disherison of the heirs,” or cause them to be “tardier put from entry into the premises.”

2°. It is remarkable that the Lord William Howard, and his descendants, the Earls of Carlisle, are preferred, in the succession, to Lord Thomas Howard, the elder brother, and his heirs, the Earls of Suffolk. As the latter are not mentioned in the entail, it follows that they can never inherit the earldom, except under the last clause of the limitations, as heirs of the grantee.

3°. According to the rule of descent here laid down, the heirs of the body of Earl Thomas take precedence of the heirs male of Lord William Howard. In the course of years, they may be indefinitely multiplied; and, at the period of the failure of heirs male of the body of the grantee, may have become a numerous progeny, each member of which will be entitled, under the common law of inheritance, to claim a share of the property. The Castle, honour, and lordship must, in that case, be divided among the coparceners, and then one of two consequences will necessarily ensue;—either the title, which is indivisible, but which, by means of the Castle, is equally settled on all the coparceners, will not be enjoyed by either of them; or if, as is more probable, the dignity is allowed to follow the *caput baroniæ*, the principal object of Earl Thomas in creating the entail will be frustrated, and the earldom deprived of the very revenues which he was anxious to secure for its support. To this it may be added that, if the Act were to be understood as converting the title into a personal dignity, and annexing the property to it as an appurtenance, a still greater difficulty would arise. In that hypothesis,

the title would necessarily fall into abeyance among the coheirs, and no one, consequently, could inherit the property until that abeyance should be terminated.—From these remarks it will not be difficult to see the truth of Lord Redesdale's observation—that “the legislature, in passing this Act, cannot have examined the subject with much attention, or adverted to its probable consequences.”^a

Precedency
of the Earl-
dom.

The precedency attached to the earldom is a subject not unconnected with the present enquiry. The decision in the reign of Henry the sixth, consistently with its character of a declaratory sentence, had confined itself to the acknowledgment of the rights of the Castle, and the claims of its possessors. Of the heirs of the existing tenant it had said nothing; but having defined the privileges belonging to the property, it had naturally left it to be inferred that whoever should legally obtain that property would necessarily succeed to the appendant privileges. This silence, however, seems to have been construed into a ground of opposition. By the death of his nephew, Humphrey, in 1438, William Fitzalan had inherited the Castle, and, in December, 1441, if not before,^b was summoned to parliament by the title of Earl of Arundel. During four years, he appears to have held the dignity in undisturbed enjoyment; but, in 1446, Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, resolved to try the effect of the late declaration, and challenged the precedence which had hitherto been assigned to the Earls of Arundel. This claim was of course resisted by Fitzalan; and the controversy was referred

^a Report, 431.

^b The summonses of the preceding year, as well as those of the seventeenth of the king (1438—1439) are lost.

by the house of peers to the decision of a committee appointed for the purpose. At the end of three years, however, the committee reported that they had not found time “to examine the said matters, titles, and declarations:” the judges, to whom the enquiry was next intrusted, declared that it was “matter of parliament, belonging to the King’s Highness, and to his lords spiritual and temporal in parliament, by them to be decided and determined;” and Henry, therefore, “by the advice and assent of the said lords,” at length undertook to terminate the dispute by pronouncing a definitive judgment in the case. He stated that, having considered “the title and right of the said Earl of Arundel, “in the premises opened, shewed, and declared, as well “in writing as otherwise, he pronounced, determined, “and decreed, that William, now Earl of Arundel, have, “keep, and enjoy his seat, place, and pre-eminence, in “the high court of parliament, and in the king’s coun- “cils, and elsewhere in the king’s high presence, as Earl “of Arundel, by reason of the Castle, honour, and lord- “ship of Arundel, as worshipfully as ever did any of his “ancestors, Earls of Arundel, afore his time, for him and “for his heirs for evermore, above the said Earl of De- “vonshire, and his heirs, without letting, challenge, or “interruption of the said Earl of Devonshire, or of his “heirs, or of any other person.”^a—Thus ended a controversy, which, in its results, confirmed the parliamentary decision of 1433, and established the earldom in its original supremacy of honour, above every other similar title of dignity.

^a Rot. Parl. V. 148. One of the original rolls of these proceedings, with the arms of the peers who were present emblazoned on it, is in the possession of the Duke of Norfolk.

CHAPTER V.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE EARLS OF ARUNDEL.—HOUSE OF
MONTGOMERY—HOUSE OF ALBINI.

THE lives of the illustrious individuals, who, from the period of the conquest, have, to the number of thirty-two, derived the title of their earldom from the Castle of Arundel, extend over a space of more than seven hundred years, and are connected with a large portion of the most interesting events in English narrative. To detail, indeed, the history of the Earls in its relation to all the multiplied transactions in which they were engaged, were now a hopeless task. Of those transactions many are entirely forgotten, whilst others have been so imperfectly recorded as either to leave us little beyond the names of the parties who were concerned in them, or, at best, to convey to us only an inadequate notion of the share which they had in their accomplishment. Yet, with all these deductions, much still remains to interest, if not to inform, the reader: and the following sketches, therefore, in a work professedly dedicated to an account of their property, will not, perhaps, be wholly unacceptable.

HOUSE OF MONTGOMERY.

I.

ROGER MONTGOMERY EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Roger Montgomery was the son of Hugh, Earl of Montgomeri and Viscount d'Hiésmes, by Joscelina, niece to Gunnora Duchess of Normandy, great grandmother of William the Conqueror.^a Of the period of his birth, and of the events, which preceded and accompanied his entrance into public life, we are wholly uninformed; but a bold and enterprising disposition, a steadiness of purpose, and a perseverance unbroken by difficulty or danger, were qualities not unlikely to recommend him to the notice of a martial prince; and it is not improbable, therefore, that these, added to the relationship in which he stood to William, introduced him at an early age to the favour of that sovereign. It is in the year 1047, however, that his name first occurs in the records of historians. Geoffrey Martel, Earl of Anjou, flushed with conquest, and elated with the victories he had achieved in Poitou and Touraine, had ventured on the bolder enterprise of attacking the young Duke of Normandy, and had actually seized his castle of Alençon. Provoked at the aggression, William instantly retaliated, by leading an army into the territory of the invader; but he had scarcely commenced his operations, which were

1047.

^a Gul. Gemitensis, 311, 312.

directed against Danfront, a strong castle in Maine, then in the possession of Anjou, when he received information that the latter was hastening at the head of an immense force to relieve the place. William was not likely to shrink from the approach of an enemy; yet it was necessary to ascertain the truth of the report, and Montgomery, therefore, with William Fitzosberne, was selected and dispatched to reconnoitre the strength, and bring intelligence of the advance, of the enemy. The youthful chiefs—so they are described—were not tardy in executing their commission. A few hours brought them within view of the hostile squadrons, moving in dense array to the point of attack, and hurrying forward to the assistance of the beleaguered fortress. At their head rode Geoffrey himself; but the sight of the foe only roused the daring spirit of the emissaries: they thought of the glory they might reap, rather than of the danger they might incur; and they resolved at once to obey the impulse which they felt, and hazard an interview with the proud leader that was before them. The scene which ensued, as described by the old historians, is singularly characteristic of the manners of the age. Riding up to Anjou, Montgomery, with his companion, briefly informed him of the object of their excursion: they told him that they had come to be assured of his approach, to ascertain the strength by which he was surrounded; and now that they had satisfied themselves in their enquiries, they would let him know that their master was waiting for his arrival, and was ready and anxious to receive him. Beneath the walls of Danfront he would find the Norman force: if he was anxious for the encounter, let him hasten to that spot; but if he

wished to escape the disaster of a defeat, let him be cautious how he roused the “dauntless anger of their lord.” The defiance of this address irritated Martel; its boldness disarmed his resentment. He replied only by denouncing vengeance against William, whose insolence he had come to chastise. They might boast of the exploits of their master; they might talk of his anger, and might extol his courage; but, before the morrow’s sun should go down, he was resolved to tame both. “Behold,” he cried, “the horse which will bear me in the fight, and the devices which will distinguish me in the battle. Go to your master, and describe them to him; and when he shall discover me in the thickest of the conflict, let him learn how the valour of the Norman will quail beneath the prowess of an Angevin.” Montgomery smiled at the boast, and described in return the armour of his leader; then wheeling his horse, he pronounced his parting accents of defiance, and returned at speed with his companion to announce the approach of the enemy. With the following day, however, the courage of Geoffrey had evaporated. He retreated without venturing an attack; and the castles both of Alençon and Danfront were immediately surrendered to the Duke.^a

As the period approached, at which William was to make his threatened descent upon the English territory, we find Roger Montgomery among the strenuous advisers of that measure, as he was afterwards a willing and powerful assistant in carrying it into execution. He commanded the centre of the victorious army, in

1066.

^a Gul. Pictav. Gesta W. Conquest. 182, 183. Malmsb. 96.

that decisive battle which extinguished the Saxon and Danish dynasties, and placed William on the throne of this country.^a

1067. The battle of Hastings took place on the fourteenth of October, 1066 : on the twenty-sixth of December, the Conqueror was crowned at Westminster ; and, in the following March, from motives which it were difficult now to ascertain, he set sail for Normandy, as if to receive the congratulations of his ancient subjects. Among the numerous train of nobles that accompanied him on that occasion, was Roger Montgomery, who seems to have been selected chiefly with a view to the settlement of the king's continental possessions, the government of which was to have been intrusted to him.^b But the insolence and oppressions of the Normans had already provoked the resentment of the English. Conspiracies and insurrections were following each other in various parts of England ; and William, who hastened from Normandy on the first intelligence of the danger that threatened his newly-acquired crown, was unwilling to deprive himself of the services of Montgomery, by investing him with a distant authority. With his sovereign, therefore, he once more returned to England, in December, 1067, and three years later was created Earl of Chichester and Arundel.^c 1070. The earldom of Shrewsbury or Shropshire, with the Honour of Eye, in Suffolk, followed soon after,^d to which were added various possessions of vast extent, in different parts of England, that

^a Gul. Pictav. 197. Orderic, 493.

^b Orderic, 509.

^c Ibid, 509, 522. Gul. Gemet. 311.

^d Ibid. and Dugd. Bar. I. 26.

had fallen to the Conqueror, either as part of the royal demesne, or as the produce of the numerous forfeitures resulting from the insurrections of the English. In Wiltshire he obtained three manors, in Surrey four, in Hampshire nine, in Middlesex eight, in Cambridgeshire eleven, in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire one each, in Worcestershire two, in Warwickshire eleven, in Staffordshire thirty, in Sussex seventy-seven, besides the city of Chichester and Castle of Arundel, and in Shropshire almost the whole county in addition to its principal city.^a Nor was his authority less extensive than his possessions. In Shropshire he enjoyed the dignity and power of an Earl Palatine;^b and to protect the province from the incursions of the Welsh became his first and most anxious endeavour. To Warren the bald, on whom he bestowed his niece, Aimeria, in marriage, he committed the government of Shrewsbury:^c to his two sons, Robert and Roger, as well as to other distinguished retainers, he gave commands in different districts of the county: he built the castles of Shrewsbury and Ludlow;^d and by these means was enabled so completely to overawe the turbulence of his neighbours, that he generally contrived to preserve the tranquillity of the country.^e In Sussex the effect of his exertions was equally beneficial. Arundel, though never, perhaps, possessing much importance beyond the precincts of its castle, had nevertheless suffered considerably from decay; whilst Chichester, which had once been the flourishing seat of the South Saxon government, had, since its union with the

^a Domesday, and Dugd. Bar. I. 26.

^b Placit. Coron. 25. Ed. 1. In calumpnia com. Salop.

^c Orderic, 522.

^d Camd. Brit. 454, 459.

^e Orderic, 522.

kingdom of Wessex, been so entirely neglected, that, in the reign of the Confessor, it contained but one hundred houses.^a To restore these places was the object of the Earl's immediate attention. He repaired and fortified the Castle of Arundel: he enlarged the town, and elevated it at once to the dignity of a borough.^b In Chichester he built a castle for the defence of the inhabitants;^c and, in the course of a few years, raised the city to such consequence, that, in pursuance of a decree passed in a council held at London, the episcopal seat was, in 1076, transferred thither from Selsey.^d

The power conferred by this immense extent of property rendered Montgomery, as well as the other Anglo-Norman barons, an object of formidable encounter even to the crown itself. During the life of the Conqueror, indeed, gratitude to his benefactor, no less, perhaps, than a similarity of views and interests, operated in securing his constant and zealous adherence to that monarch: but, by the death of William, in 1087, the influence of these motives was removed, and his hostility soon became the subject of serious alarm to the new sovereign. William, by one of his last acts, had partitioned his dominions between his two sons, Robert, surnamed "Court-hose," and William, known in history by the appellation of "Rufus," or the red. To the former, who was the elder, he had assigned Normandy and its dependencies;

^a Domesd. 23. a. 1.

^b Ibid. Camd. Brit. 226.

^c It was destroyed by order of Henry the third, in the first year of his reign, when the convent of Grey Friars was erected on its site. Pat. I. Hen. 3. in dorso.

^d Brompton, 975. Decretum "quod sedes episcoporum de viculis ad *urbes celebres* transirent."

to the latter he had bequeathed the more splendid possession of the English throne; and the separation, thus effected between the Norman and English territories, had been followed by the peaceable succession of both brothers to their respective portions of the inheritance. By the greater barons, however, the inconveniences of an arrangement, which placed them under the authority of two masters, were quickly discovered. Possessing large estates both in England and in their own country, they foresaw the perplexities in which a divided, and perhaps incompatible, allegiance must necessarily involve them. They knew, moreover, the suspicious and tyrannical disposition of William Rufus, which they contrasted with the frank and generous, though indolent, temper of his brother: they thought that the birthright of that brother had been infringed by the partition of the territories; and they resolved, by transferring the crown to his head, at once to vindicate his title, and free themselves from the government of a king whom they disliked.^a The rising of Odo, Earl of Kent, gave the first signal for hostilities. His example was instantly followed by the Earl of Arundel, whose interest in the fortunes of Robert had been manifested even during the life of the Conqueror;^b and, in the course of a few days, the war became general. It had been arranged that Robert, who was expected to arrive from Normandy, should land at Arundel. Montgomery's first care, therefore, was to prepare the Castle for his reception.^c Thence he hastened to Shrewsbury, which he put into a posture of defence; and from that city marched, in

1088.

^a Orderic, 666. Malmsbury, 120. ^b Orderic, 572. ^c Diceto, 489.

company with Ralph Mortimer, Bernard de Newmarch, and Robert de Lacy, into Worcestershire, ravaged the country in every direction, and invested Worcester itself with a numerous force.^a But here the success, which had hitherto attended the confederates, was unexpectedly arrested. Among the few powerful persons, who had remained faithful to William Rufus, were Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester. The latter was residing in his episcopal city, when the summons of Montgomery demanded its surrender. He was beloved by the people whom he governed, and the influence of his example was sufficient to secure their allegiance to the sovereign whom he acknowledged. To close their gates against the enemy was the first, to seek the counsel of the good bishop in their emergency was the next, result of the confidence which they placed in his judgment and integrity. His courage and address saved the city. He raised their drooping spirits, confirmed them in the cause which they had espoused, prepared them to resist the attack of their assailants, and promised the blessing and protection of heaven to their exertions. A sally was immediately resolved on; five thousand of the besieging force either fell beneath the swords of the garrison, or were captured by the victors, and the remainder of the hostile array disappeared at once by a precipitate retreat.^b

This unexpected failure was probably not ineffectual in disposing Montgomery to listen to terms of accommo-

^a Malmsb. 120. Simeon Dunelm. 214. Brompton, 984.

^b Diceto, 489. Huntingdon, 372. Brompton, 985.

dation from William Rufus. That monarch already began to feel the disadvantage with which he contended against the united force of almost all the powerful barons of the country, and was devising the means of drawing over the more influential members of the confederacy to his own interest, when accident brought him into the company of the Earl of Arundel. He seems to have met him on horseback, probably in the neighbourhood of the royal camp. Riding up to him, he began by upbraiding him with the disloyalty of his conduct: he reminded him of the allegiance which he claimed, as the representative of the deceased king; and expressed his astonishment at the course which the barons had adopted in the late transactions. To him their proceedings were totally inexplicable. If they wanted money, they knew they might have it: if an encrease of their estates were their object, let them express the wish and it should be granted. As to the forest laws, he had no objection to abolish whatever was oppressive or injurious in their provisions: he was only anxious, in preserving the crown which had been given to him by his father, to maintain the title by which *they* held their dignities and possessions. Still, if they thought there was no danger in disputing the grants of their former sovereign, he was not unwilling to retire. He would resign the crown, provided they and his guardians should advise it, and then let them see if they would obtain a better or more generous ruler in his brother. This artful address was not lost upon the Earl. His attachment, already perhaps wavering, was now entirely weaned from the cause of the confederates, and his fealty and his services were at once offered to William Rufus. Deprived of his

assistance, the barons no longer felt themselves qualified to cope with the royal arms: fortress after fortress was compelled to surrender; Odo himself, the king's uncle, was taken and banished into Normandy; the other chieftains either submitted or fled, and the hopes of Robert were, for the present, entirely extinguished.^a

1091. Montgomery was not long unrewarded for this defection. The rapacity of the Anglo-Norman nobles, stimulated by the successes of one of their number in Glamorganshire, had long cast its eye on the Welsh provinces: it was thought that a favourable opportunity was presented for enlarging their possessions; and, in 1091, application was made to the king for the sanction of his authority in furtherance of their designs. William eagerly caught at the idea, as the cheapest method of requiting the services, and securing the continued fidelity, of those by whom he had been assisted in the late struggle. The principality was forthwith partitioned out for the purposes of conquest: extensive grants of land in various districts were made to the several applicants; and homage was demanded and received by William from each of the grantees, in the same manner as if the property were already at the disposal of the crown. At the head of the adventurers embarked in this extraordinary scheme was the Earl of Arundel, whose portion in the destined spoil were the lordships of Powys and Cardigan. Summoning his retainers, therefore, he prepared to win the territory which had been thus allotted to him, and marched at the head of a numerous body into Wales. Of his operations in

^a Malmsb. 120, 121. Paris. 11, 12.

Cardigan we are not informed: but in Powys, or Sire Tresaldwin, as it was called by the natives, the success of his arms bore down all opposition, and he was speedily master of the country. He took the castle of Baldwin, seized the principal town, which it commanded, and having repaired the works of the fortress and established his authority in the district, gave his own name to the city, and to the county of which it was the head. It is still known by the name of Montgomeryshire.^a

During the last three years of his life we hear but little of Roger Montgomery in the public transactions of the time. As he perceived his end approaching, the attachment he had always felt to a religious life induced him to solicit admission to the abbey which he had founded at Shrewsbury. There, with the consent of his countess, he assumed the habit, and, three days after, July the twenty-seventh, 1094, calmly expired. He was buried within the walls of the abbey, where a magnificent tomb was erected to his memory.^b

1094.

The character, which a contemporary historian, himself an Englishman, has given of this nobleman, offers a simple but beautiful testimony to the general excellence

^a Powel, Hist. of Wales, 151, 152. Camd. Brit. 509, 510.

^b Orderic, 581, 708. Brompton, 988. There is another account which says that, instead of dying in the abbey of Shrewsbury, he was slain in battle *somewhere* between Cardiff and Brecon, (Powel, 153, 154): but this wants both authority and probability to support it. See Vincent on Brooke, p. 17.—The figure of the Earl, which adorned his tomb, was, after the destruction of the abbey, found among the ruins. In 1622, it was removed to the abbey church, and placed against one of the walls of the edifice, where it still remains. An inscription records its discovery and removal, together with the principal events of the Earl's life.

of his disposition. "He was," says Orderic, "a man of exemplary prudence and moderation, a great lover of equity, and of discreet and modest persons."^a Perhaps, indeed, in the foregoing details it will be difficult to trace the resemblance of this portrait: perhaps the reader will enquire for some evidence of the moderation, and look in vain for some specimen of the equity, which is said to have distinguished the proceedings of the Earl of Arundel. But history, unfortunately, too often conveys to us little beyond a recital of the darker actions and more tumultuous passions of her heroes. Her home is on the field of battle; her glory is the sack of cities and the wail of empires. She finds a stirring emotion in the rapacity of the invader, and the lawless ferocity which the early baron shared in common with his age: whilst the milder qualities and more amiable feelings of the heart, the integrity that marked his social intercourse, and the virtues that endeared him to domestic life, are passed over as unworthy of regard, or hinted at as something too uninteresting to be detailed in its effects. It is by the prowess of the conqueror, or the conspiracy of the rebel, or the intrigue of the statesman, that she seeks to rouse attention: the justice, and the benevolence, and the moderation of the man are too humble and too retiring to attract her notice.

The Earl of Arundel was a munificent patron of religion. He founded and endowed various pious establishments both in Normandy and England, among which was the great abbey of Saints Peter and Paul, in the eastern vicinity of Shrewsbury.^b He also built the

^a Orderic, 522.

^b Orderic, 579, 602. *Monast. Angl.* I. 375. II. 950, 957, 966, 1006.

church of Watford, near Bridgenorth, in Shropshire, to release his second wife, Adeliza, from a vow which she had made at sea.^a

He was twice married. By his first wife, Mabel, daughter and heir to William Talvace, Lord of Belesme, in La Perche, he had issue, five sons and four daughters.^b Of the sons, Robert and Hugh succeeded in turn to their father's honours and estates; Roger, from the country of his wife, surnamed "Pictaviensis," was Earl of Lancaster;^c Philip, called "the Clerk," was in the holy wars, and died at Jerusalem;^d and Arnulph, by his conquests in Wales, and the grants of William Rufus, became Earl of Pembroke.^e Of the daughters, Emma, the eldest, was Abbess of Almanasches, founded by her father between the years 1050 and 1060; Maud married Robert, Earl of Moreton; Mabel was the wife of Hugh de Neufchastel; and Sybil, the youngest, was wedded to Robert Fitz Hamon, Lord of Corbeil, in Normandy.^f On the death of his first wife, who was murdered in her bed by Hugh de Salegio, a Norman knight, in 1082, he married Adeliza, daughter of Ebrard de Pusaic: by her he had one son, Ebrard, who became a priest, and was chaplain to King Henry the first.^g

^a Brompton, 988.

^b Gul. Gemet. 275. Orderic, 578. The first of these writers, describing Mabel, says "mulier erat corpore parva, multumque loquax, ad malum satis prompta, et sagax atque faceta, nimiumque crudelis et audax:" Orderic adds, "Multo sanguine madebat." Ib.

^c Malmsb. 157. Vincent, MS. Ashmol. No. 8467.

^d Malmsb. 153,

^e Powel, 151, 157.

^f Orderic, 578.

^g Ibid.

II.

HUGH MONTGOMERY, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Hugh Montgomery, the second son of Earl Roger, succeeded to the earldoms of Shrewsbury and Arundel on the death of his father, who, notwithstanding his own opposition to William Rufus on a similar account, had imitated the Conqueror in the disposal of his property, and assigned his English honours and possessions to his younger son.^a This Earl, by the Welsh called "*Hugh Goch*," or *the red haired*,^b was already in possession of the manor of Urfield, in Staffordshire:^c he had acted as his father's lieutenant in Shropshire; and among other military service in which he had been engaged, had been present with his brother Robert in the castle of Rochester, when it surrendered to William Rufus, on the defeat and capture of Odo, Earl of Kent, in 1088.^d The reconciliation which their father had just effected with the king was probably instrumental in obtaining the pardon of the young men:^e but their habits had been formed in the conspiracies and intrigues which signalized the late transactions; and William soon discovered that, though he had forgiven their revolt, he had failed to attach the affections, at least of the younger, to his government. It was in the year 1095, that Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, was summoned by his sovereign to answer for some acts of violence which he had committed. Confident, however, in the strength of his castles, he had chosen to disregard

^a Orderic, 708.^b Powel, 155.^c Domesday.^d Malmsb. 120. Annal. Waverl. 136.^e Malmsb. 121.

the royal mandate; and William, in order to chastise his insolence, had marched with an army to reduce him. Unfortunately for the king, his own conduct had never conciliated the good will of his nobles: his present expedition against the most powerful of their body was calculated only to render him still more obnoxious to them; and the fall of Tinmouth, with the capture and imprisonment of many of the Northumbrian chieftains, which signalized the first part of his campaign, confirmed their hatred to a prince whose despotism, perhaps the least censurable of his faults, opposed an insuperable obstacle to their aggrandizement. Among the most violent of his enemies was Hugh Montgomery, now Earl of Arundel. This nobleman had long been the adherent and zealous supporter of Mowbray: he was known to De Lacy, Odo, Earl of Holderness, and others of Mowbray's more intimate allies; and he was the first to join with them in a conspiracy, which should effect at once the deliverance of their friend, and the overthrow of the power of his adversary. It was known that William was in the habit of frequenting a wood in the neighbourhood of Bamborough, where Mowbray was besieged. Here it was proposed to station a body of armed men, with orders to wait until the monarch should appear. As he passed, they were to seize and murder him: the intelligence of his death was to be instantly conveyed to the confederates; and Stephen of Albemarle was to be proclaimed king. The moment was approaching for the accomplishment of this sanguinary scheme, when Mowbray himself, who had been decoyed from his entrenchments, fell into the hands of the king's soldiers. To save him from the tortures, which were threatened

in case of further resistance, the affection of his wife induced her to surrender: the gates of the fortress were thrown open; and Morell, the governor, probably to avert the punishment of his own treason, at once revealed the whole particulars of the plot. The conspirators were immediately seized. One—and perhaps the most innocent—William of Alderic, the king's godfather, was hanged: some lost their eyes; others were condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment; and Hugh Montgomery escaped only by the payment of three thousand pounds to the king.^a

It was about this time that the Welsh insurgents, who, during the preceding year, had overrun Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, surprised the castle of Montgomery, and massacred a large portion of the garrison. The success of the assailants, in this and other instances, prompted them to renew the experiment, and a series of aggressions along the marches, which were feebly and ineffectually opposed by the king's forces, continued, during three years, to spread desolation over the adjoining country.^b At length Montgomery, who had suffered severely by their excesses, determined to punish the temerity of the marauders. Joining with Hugh, Earl of Chester, he raised a numerous force, and the two leaders, at the head of the whole strength of their united counties, marched directly into Anglesea. Their first step was to build the castle of Aber Llienawc:^c thence they proceeded to reduce and overawe the inhabitants by every species of cruelty, wasting the country, destroying the habitations, and mutilating,

^a Orderic, 703, 704. Simeon, 221, 222.

^b Orderic, 768. Simeon, *ibid.* Brompt. 994. ^c Powell, 155.

imprisoning, or murdering the wretched captives that fell into their hands. Neither age, sex, nor condition afforded protection against their barbarities. The clergy, no less than the laity, were included in the general destruction: even the sanctity of the churches was invaded, and the sacred edifices themselves converted into kennels for the hounds of the two Earls.^a These atrocities, however, were fortunately of short duration. In the course of the same year, Magnus, King of Norway, who had just added the Orkney and Shetland Islands to his dominions, resolved to attempt the reduction of Anglesea, and, about the end of July, appeared off the coast with a numerous fleet. The intelligence of this event alarmed Montgomery and his companion. They foresaw the danger which threatened their army from the resistance of the natives and the attacks of a foreign opponent; and they hastened, therefore, with all possible speed, to intercept his landing at a place then called Dayannoh. This unexpected reception disconcerted the Norwegian. He had calculated on surprising the island, or, at most, on encountering the opposition of the unarmed, and undisciplined inhabitants. With the regular force which now awaited his arrival he was neither prepared nor willing to contend; so that, having discharged a volley of arrows on the shore, he ordered his anchor to be weighed, and sailed back to the Isle of Man, to watch for a more favourable opportunity. But he had rescued the country from the

^a Simeon 223. Giraldus, in Camden's Collection, 866. "Quendam etiam propectæ ætatis presbyterum, nomine Cenredum, a quo Walani in his quæ agebant consilium accipiebant, de ecclesiâ extra-xerunt, et ejus testiculis abscisis, et uno oculo eruto, linguam illius absciderunt." Sim. ib.

barbarities which it endured. One of the arrows had taken effect upon the Earl of Arundel: it entered at the eye, and, passing to the brain, struck him dead from his horse. His body was afterwards conveyed to Shrewsbury, and interred, near that of his father, in the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, to which he had been a considerable benefactor.^a It is not known that he was ever married.

III.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

Robert Montgomery, who, from the inheritance of his mother, was generally known as Robert de Belesme, was the eldest son of Roger Montgomery, first Earl of Arundel, and, having been baptized at Seez, was most probably born before his father's removal to this country.^b At an early age he attracted the notice of William the Conqueror, from whom he received the sword of knighthood, in recompense of his valour, at the siege of Fresnay, in 1073. He was afterwards employed by that monarch in various services of honour and importance, treated on all occasions with distinguished regard, and rewarded with grants of several extensive and valuable estates in Normandy.^c

The settlement of the English crown on William Rufus, to the exclusion of the elder brother, seems, not unnaturally, to have been regarded by Robert Belesme as a precedent of ominous import to himself. On the

^a Orderic, 768. Simeon, 223. Monast. Ang. I. 377—379.

^b Gallia Christiana, XI. 714. ^c Orderic, 532, 668.

death of the Conqueror, his instant attention was turned to the support of Robert Courthose. He fortified the castles of Belesme and Alençon, and, hastening to Eng- 1087.
land, eagerly joined the standard of Odo, Earl of Kent, and the other barons who were already in arms against the king.^a With the result of that insurrection, as well as with the capitulation and pardon of Belesme and the other insurgents at Rochester, the reader is acquainted. By William his new allies were received with perfect cordiality: but Robert appears to have felt that he was deserted, and to have resolved, if possible, to revenge himself on the betrayers of his cause. An opportunity of indulging his resentment against one of the parties soon presented itself. He understood that Belesme was about to return to Normandy, and, by the advice of Odo, who had found an asylum at his court, determined to arrest him on his arrival. Arrangements for this purpose were instantly made; guards were placed on the shore; and Belesme, as soon as he landed, was secured, and committed to close confinement. The interference of his father, indeed, released the captive at the end of a few weeks: but the remembrance of the affront was not obliterated; and Belesme continued, during several years, to retaliate on the Duke of Normandy by every species of aggression and intrigue.^b

It will be naturally supposed that these proceedings must have involved him in repeated altercations with his neighbours. The cruelties, indeed, which he perpetrated, and the horrors which invariably accompanied his progress, conspired to render him an object of general execration to the country; and the sentence of excom-

^a Orderic, 664.

^b Ibid. 672—675.

1094. munication and interdict, pronounced against him on this account by Serlo, Bishop of Seez, bears testimony to the violence of his conduct, and the barbarities which he constantly exercised.^a By the English king, however, he continued to be employed and caressed. His vices were not likely to alienate the affections of such a sovereign as William Rufus; whilst his talents in military architecture, no less than his courage and address as a commander, frequently rendered him a necessary instrument in the realization of that monarch's unprincipled and rapacious schemes. Amongst other offices of importance to which he was raised, was that of General in chief, or Commander of all the military forces of the kingdom.^b

1098. At the demise of his younger brother, Hugh, without issue, in 1098, he succeeded, on payment of a fine of three thousand pounds, to the two earldoms of Shrewsbury and Arundel;^c and, from that period to the death of William Rufus, appears to have been principally engaged in wars of retaliation and aggression on the Welsh territory.^d

1100. But the accession of Henry the first opened a new field for the exercise of his restless and intriguing

^a Orderic, 675, 705—708.

^b Ibid. 766. He invented a species of *balista*, which was not only used by William in Normandy, but was sent to Jerusalem, for the assistance of the Christian army in the siege of that city. Ibid, 705.

^c Ibid. 768. This, which may be fairly said to have amounted to an actual purchase, is one instance of the grievous exactions which were sometimes practised by our early Norman kings. It was not until the period of Magna Charta, that the relief of a barony or earldom was fixed at one hundred pounds. Before that time, the fine was arbitrary, and was generally paid in arms and horses. See Selden, *Titles of Honour*, 668, 672.

^d Orderic, *ib.*

spirit. The separation of Normandy from the English crown had never gained the approval of the more powerful barons. Though they had acquiesced in the partition which they found themselves unable to prevent, they had not abandoned the hope of effecting, at a more favourable opportunity, a reunion between the severed dominions: they looked forward to the moment when the death or the weakness of William Rufus should place the disposal of his throne within their reach; and now that the sceptre had suddenly fallen from his hand, they thought it might be easily transferred to him, in whom the sovereignty of the two countries would be again united. There was another reason also, more laudable, if not more powerful, than the preceding. By a treaty signed in 1091, it had been stipulated between the two brothers, William and Robert, that, on the decease of either, the survivor should succeed to his dominions. In pursuance of this agreement, the latter now claimed the crown: his friends maintained that he alone was the rightful heir; and a powerful conspiracy was once more formed for the express purpose of enforcing his title against the usurpation of Henry. The temptation which this enterprise offered to the ambition of Belesme was too strong to be resisted. His enmity to Robert was instantly abandoned: he declared himself the partisan of the Duke, and an extensive grant of new possessions in Normandy, among which was the bishopric of Seez, bound him to the cause which he had thus unexpectedly espoused.^a

The details of Robert's expedition in the following year, as well as his subsequent reconciliation with his

^a Orderic, 785, 786.

brother, are known to the readers of English history. Among the articles of agreement, then signed by the two princes, was one by which Robert had provided for the security, both in property and person, of his several adherents:^a but the king, though he had undertaken to comply with the terms of the pacification, was anxious to find pretexts for evading their execution; and it was soon discovered that the Anglo-Norman friends of his rival were marked out for the visitation of their sovereign's displeasure. The spirit of forgiveness formed no ingredient in the character of Henry. If the public actions of the barons during the late occurrences were protected by the treaty, at least their private conduct might afford a plausible excuse for the vengeance which he was determined to inflict. Spies were, therefore, placed about the obnoxious nobles; emissaries were employed to collect the desired evidence; and every stratagem was adopted which promised to be serviceable in bringing them within the intended proscription.^b The first who suffered under these proceedings was the Earl of Arundel. In his regard, the exertions of the royal agents had been more than usually successful, and, as the result, a long list of no less than forty-five serious charges was exhibited against him. He was summoned before the king's court, and required to defend himself. Conscious, however, of his inability to meet his accusers, he obtained permission to retire, for the purpose, as he pretended, of consulting with his friends: but, instantly mounting his horse, he fled to his nearest castle, ordered the others to be placed in a state of defence, and at the head of his numerous retainers prepared to resist the

1102.

^a Eadmer, 58. Orderic, 788.^b Orderic, 804, 805.

power of his sovereign. Henry was not backward in pursuing the refractory Earl. In a few days he appeared with his army before the Castle of Arundel, which he closely invested. Thence he hastened to Bridgenorth, and, at the end of three weeks, succeeded in gaining possession of that fortress. The Earl himself was in Shrewsbury. From Bridgenorth to that city the road, in itself narrow and almost impassable, lay through a wooded country, which not only impeded the progress of the royal troops, but exposed them to continual attacks from concealed parties of the enemy. The infantry, therefore, sixty thousand in number, were ordered to clear a passage, and Henry, without farther impediment, arrived beneath the walls of Shrewsbury. The news of his approach alarmed Belesme. Though deserted by his Welsh allies, and weakened by the loss of Bridgenorth, he had still flattered himself that the inaccessible nature of his situation would protect him for some time. But the sudden appearance of Henry dissipated all his hopes: in despair he came forth from the castle, presented himself before his sovereign, and, imploring his clemency, laid the keys of the city at his feet. Henry granted him his life: but he was ordered to quit the country forthwith, and his castles, honours, and estates, were attached to the possessions of the crown.^a

^a Orderic, 806—808, Paris, 49. Flor. Wigorn. 650. M. Westm. 236.—Malmsbury (156) says that Belesme was in Arundel Castle at the period of its surrender, and that the keys of Shrewsbury were sent from the inhabitants to Henry, by the hands of Ralph, Bishop of Seez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. This account, however, is at variance with that of all the other historians.

By an article in the late treaty between Henry and his brother, it had been agreed that both princes should unite to punish the offences or aggressions of their respective enemies.^a In consequence of this engagement, Robert, on receiving intelligence of the revolt of Belesme, had proceeded to ravage the Norman estates of that nobleman; an action, which, however accordant with the letter of the treaty, was but an ungracious return for services, which constituted the real origin of the Earl's present misunderstanding with his sovereign. It may be easily imagined that Belesme, irritated at the ingratitude of this conduct, would seek the first opportunity for revenge. His enmity, however, was but of short duration. The weakness of the Duke compelled him to acknowledge the power, his necessities induced him to seek the friendship, of his antagonist. Belesme still possessed thirty-four castles in Normandy; was as sagacious in council as he was unwearied in enterprise; and was disposed moreover, on every consideration, to join in any scheme of opposition or hostility to the king of England. As Henry's designs upon the duchy became more evident, the assistance to be derived from such an ally was an object of no trifling importance. A treaty was therefore proposed, and at length concluded. Robert restored to Belesme whatever possessions had been seized during the late occurrences, and the latter, on his part, undertook to support the Duke against any hostile attempts that might be made upon the Norman territory.^b

This alliance soon afforded Henry a pretext, which he had long desired, for invading the duchy. The impunity,

^a Eadmer, 58.

^b Orderic, 808—811.

which it secured to Belesme and his associates, hurried them into every species of violence and rapine. Marauding parties scoured the country, and carried off the property of the defenceless inhabitants: villages were sacked, churches were burned, and men, women, and children were consumed in the flames. The intelligence of these proceedings, which Robert was either too weak or too indolent to repress, was speedily conveyed to Henry, accompanied by an invitation from the disaffected subjects of the Duke, to assume the authority which his brother was unable or unwilling to exercise. Henry replied by landing a powerful force in Normandy: but the campaign terminated without any important result, and the King returned to England for the winter. The following summer led to a more decisive issue. Henry had laid siege to Tenchebrai, a fortress belonging to William, Earl of Moreton, and Robert had determined to relieve it. His army was immediately put in motion. Moreton led the van; the Duke himself commanded in the centre, and Belesme brought up the rear. But Henry was not to be driven from his purpose. Before the walls of Tenchebrai he received the force of his opponents in order of battle, and a bloody and obstinate engagement at once determined the fate of the contending parties. Finding the army unexpectedly attacked in flank by Helie de la Flèche, one of Henry's generals, Belesme took the alarm, and fled with precipitation; the confusion became general, and the Duke, with the greater part of his nobility, and four hundred knights, fell into the hands of the conqueror. By the influence of Helie, however, Belesme once more contrived to work his reconciliation with the king. Argenteuil, and the rest of

1104.

1105.

Sept. 28.

his patrimonial possessions in Normandy were restored to him ; and a renewed promise of fidelity and obedience bound him for a time to the interests of Henry.^a

1108. But this engagement was speedily violated. The attempt on the part of Henry, in 1108, to seize the person of William, the only son of the captive Duke, raised up a numerous host of supporters in behalf of the young prince ; and Belesme was among the first to unite with Louis, King of France, Fulke, Earl of Anjou, and other powerful persons, for the purpose, if possible, of securing to him his paternal inheritance. Six years glided away in an alternation of victory and defeat, without leaving an advantage with either party : but, before the termination of the war, Belesme had become the captive of the English king, and was already removed beyond the confines of the Norman territory. He was
 1113. arrested at Bonneville, November the fourth, 1113, and committed to close confinement at Cherbourg. Thence,
 1114. in the following year, he was conveyed to the castle of Wareham, in Dorsetshire, and secured there for the remainder of his life.^b He died May 1, 1118.^c

The character of Belesme has been referred to by historians as a model of superlative and unparalleled cruelty, even in the ferocious age which he contributed to disgrace. The vices of treachery, avarice, and lust he shared in common with many of the nobles of his day : in savage and unrelenting barbarity he evidently stood alone. He preferred the death to the ransom, the

^a Orderic, 815-823. Malmsb. 157, 158. Huntingdon, 379. Brompt. 1002.

^b Orderic, 837-841. Huntingd. 380. Hoved. 473.

^c "Anno MCXVIII. obiit Robertus Comes de Belesme, Kal. Maii." Annal. Margan. 5.

tortures to the death, of his captives. He delighted in gazing on the writhing bodies of the victims, women as well as men, whom he was in the habit of impaling; and, on one occasion, could even find amusement in boring out the eyes of his own godson with his thumbs, because the father, who had offended him, had eluded his vengeance. In his latter days, however, he paid the penalty of these enormities; and a rigorous confinement of more than four years seems not to have been the only species of retribution with which he was visited.^a

Robert Belesme married Agnes, daughter of Guy, Earl of Ponthieu. By her he had issue, an only son, William, surnamed Talvace, who succeeded, through the influence of Fulk, Earl of Anjou, to the inheritance of his father in Normandy.^b

^a Orderic, 675, 707, 808. Malmsb. 158. Anglia Sacra, II. 698, 699.

^b Orderic, 675, 708, 851.

HOUSE OF ALBINI.

IV.

WILLIAM DE ALBINI, FIRST EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

William de Albini, surnamed "William with the strong hand,"^a was the eldest son of William de Albini, who had accompanied the Conqueror from Normandy, and had obtained from that monarch the Lordship of Buckenham in Norfolk, together with the office of "*Pincerna Regis*," or chief butler to the king.^b We hear little of

^a He obtained this appellation from a legendary story which says that, during his residence at the French court, being decoyed, by the jealousy of the queen, whom he had refused to marry, to the den of a lion, and suddenly enclosed with the animal, he wrapped his mantle round his arm, and, thrusting his hand into its mouth, tore out its tongue by the roots. The story is seriously told by Dugdale, Bar. I. 118, 119. Vincent thinks that Albini was too lenient with the lion. When his arm was once in the beast's mouth, he should have thrust it farther, "seized him by the tail, and turned him inside out." Discovery of Brooke's Errors, 21. Mr. Dallaway erroneously applies the appellation to this William's father. Rape of Arund. 117, note c. New Edition.

^b Dugd. Bar. I. 118. The office of chief butler, which was originally appendant to the manor of Buckenham, appears to have been subsequently attached to other property, or rather, perhaps, after the partition of the estates of Earl Hugh, in 1243, to have followed the *caput baroniæ*. In a plea held in Hilary Term, 1303, it is asserted to have belonged jointly to the manors of Buckenham, Wymundham, and Kenninghall, (Commun. de Term. S. Hil. 31 Ed. I. rot. 1. Norf.). At the coronation of Edward the sixth, it was claimed by Sir Edmund Knevet, as lord of the manor of Buckenham only,

him in history before his marriage with Adeliza, the relict of Henry the first. That prince, dying in 1135, but the claim was disallowed: at that of Charles the second, the attempt was renewed by another person, on the same ground, and with similar success; and the judgment in both instances was given in favour of the Earl of Arundel. The following extract from the entry of the court, in the former case, will illustrate both the ground of the decision, and the nature of the claim.

“ Henry, Earl of Arundel, claimeth to be chief butler, as well at
 “ the king’s coronation as the queen’s, by reason that the said office
 “ is appendant to the said Earldom; and claimeth thereby to have
 “ all the wine in the pipes, and hogsheads, and other vessels of wine,
 “ as soon as the wine of the same vessel is drawn to the bar: and
 “ also to have the best cup that is before the king that day at dinner:
 “ and to have all the pots and cups that are within the wine-cellar
 “ remaining after dinner, so that they be neither gold nor silver. And,
 “ for the proof of the possessing of the said office, the same Earl
 “ alleged the possession thereof of his ancestors, at the coronation of
 “ King Edward the second, and King Richard the third, King Henry
 “ the seventh, and at the coronation of our late sovereign lord, King
 “ Henry the eighth. And forasmuch as Sir Edmund Knevit, Knt.,
 “ did exhibit a like bill of claim for the said office, and did not shew
 “ any manner of proof for the same, nor follows the suit thereof, it
 “ appeared to the said commissioners that the ancestors of the said
 “ Earl have always done the said service. Thereupon the same Earl
 “ was admitted to do the same service at this time, and to have and
 “ enjoy the fees and profits belonging to the same, salvo jure cujus-
 “ cumque.” Book of Coronations, in State Paper Office, f. 47.

A right to the same perquisites, which are here enumerated, had been previously asserted by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, at the coronation of Henry the fourth, but, with the exception of the cup, they were adjudged to belong to the high steward, (*ibid.* 27.). They were, however, afterwards claimed at the coronation of Charles the second, and obtained, (*ib.*). The office is now held as appendant to the Earldom, and the only acknowledged fees are the gold basin and ewer, employed at the ceremony, together with the cup, from which the monarch drinks at the banquet. The entry on the coronation roll of

had left his widow in possession of all the honours and estates which he had acquired in Sussex, by the forfeiture of Robert Belesme, and which he had settled in dower upon her. These she conveyed to her new husband, William de Albini, who thereupon assumed the title, and became, in her right, Earl of Arundel.^a

With the Earldom Albini appears to have assumed much of the enterprising spirit, without the treachery and ferocity, which had latterly been attached to it. He is said to have been among the counsellors, who, by their repeated messages, advised the landing of the Empress Matilda, in 1139: he received her on her arrival, and of course was present at Arundel to superintend the defence of its castle against Stephen.^b But with the departure of that princess to join her brother at Bristol, the efforts of Albini in her cause seem to have terminated. Though, from his conduct on this and other occasions, it may be fairly concluded that he felt the original justice of her claim, yet he was not disposed to assert it at the risk of civil dissension, or to maintain the rights of an individual at the expense of the fortunes and the lives of thousands. The acknowledgment of a king already in possession would be less calamitous, in its general results, than the armed, and probably ineffectual, support of a more rightful, but distant, competitor; and through all the subsequent exploits of Matilda, her triumphs and her defeats, Albini remained the steadfast and faithful adherent of Stephen.^c Still, her

King George the fourth, relative to this subject, will be found in the Appendix, No. III.

^a See page 117 of this history.

^b Chron. Norman. 978. Gervase, 1349. See page 56 of this history.

^c Hist. Min. M. Paris. apud Dugd. Bar. I. 119.

interests, when they could be forwarded by peace and conciliation, were not abandoned. The Empress herself, dispirited by a constant succession of reverses, had retired to Normandy in 1147:^a but, in 1153, Henry, her son by Geoffrey of Anjou, landed in England, and was immediately joined by the Earl of Chester, and most of the ancient friends of his family. His army was at Wallingford, when Stephen, collecting his forces, resolved to meet him, and, if possible, decide the contest. The hostile troops were already in sight of each other; both parties were eager for the combat; and the signal for the onset was about to sound. But the Earl of Arundel, who was with the king, availed himself of a trifling incident to avert the slaughter that must have ensued. The horse of Stephen became restive, and had thrown his rider. This had happened a second and a third time, and the men, alive to the feelings of superstition, were beginning to waver. Arundel saw that the opportunity might be improved to effect a reconciliation. In simple but energetic terms he reminded Stephen of the weakness of his own cause, and the justice of that of his opponent: he spoke of the desperate struggle which would be made by men who could entertain no hopes of mercy in case of defeat: dwelt on the horrors of a contest, in which brother would be ranged against brother, and father against son; impressed on him the possibility of defection, where the ties of blood, and the feelings of relationship were thus enlisted, as it were, against him; and concluded by entreating him to enter into some arrangement with his antagonist, which might

^a Gervase, 1363.

rescue the nation from the impending horrors of a civil war. The advice was not without effect. The king and the young duke met in front of the two armies; a truce was immediately agreed on; and, before the end of the same year, a solemn instrument was ratified, by which Stephen adopted Henry as his successor on the throne, and gave the kingdom, after his own death, to him and to his heirs for ever. To this instrument Albini attached his signature as a subscribing witness, at the head of the barons, under the title of “ William, Earl of Chichester.”^a

The service thus peacefully but effectually rendered to his cause was not forgotten by Henry. One of the earliest acts of that prince’s sovereignty was to confer on the Earl of Arundel, and his heirs for ever, the honours and possessions which, till then, he had held only as the dower of his wife: he invested him with the additional dignity of Earl of Sussex; granted him livery of the third penny from the pleas of the county; and attached him to his court in various important offices and employments.^b It was in October, 1164, that Thomas à Becket, in order to escape the violence which he had reason to apprehend from his enemies, withdrew privately from Northampton, and embarked for the French coast. Henry was alarmed at this event. He foresaw the danger which was likely to arise from the representations of the archbishop, and he resolved to dispatch an embassy both to the French king, and to the Roman pontiff, for the purpose of justifying his proceedings before those princes, and of inducing the latter to submit

1154.

1164.

^a Gervase, 1373, 1374. Rymer, I. 25.

^b Cart. 5 Ed. 3. m. 1. n. 6. per Inspex. See p. 120 of this history.

the conduct of Becket to the special investigation of a legate to be appointed for that end. It was an object of policy to render this embassy as splendid as possible. The archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Exeter, Worcester, and Chichester, were of its members; and the Earl of Arundel, as the most noble amongst the nobles of the land, was numbered with the barons who formed its magnificent train. But Arundel, though his presence might give a lustre to the deputation, was not disposed to lend himself to the party-feelings through which its object was sought to be attained. He wished to heal the dissension, not to irritate the passions, that had been excited. He felt that a conciliating demeanour would be more effectual than the anger of indiscriminate invective; and accordingly, the temperate and respectful terms in which he spoke of the archbishop, while they contrasted strongly with the fiery denunciations of his episcopal companions, the bishops of London and Chichester, failed not to secure to him the applause and esteem of the illustrious persons whom he addressed. The speech which he delivered at the papal court is recorded by Gervase. It was spoken in English, and sets out by declaring that the speaker, being "an illiterate man," had been unable to comprehend what the prelates, who had preceded him in their discourses, had expressed in Latin.^a But it behoved him, he said,

^a Gervase, who praises the elegance of the Earl's speech, commends this declaration for its "modesty:" but Mr. Sharon Turner has discovered in it a proof of the general ignorance of the lay nobles in the twelfth century. That the nobles were uneducated may be true, or not: yet, if the inability to understand a Latin discourse be a proof of ignorance, Mr. Turner need not, perhaps, travel so far

to state in his own unlearned fashion the object of the mission, with which he and his associates had been entrusted: to remind them that they had not been deputed by their sovereign either to blacken the reputation of the absent, or to waste their time in useless and irritating discussion; but that they had come to testify the affection of their master for the holy see, to assure it of his unqualified attachment and obedience, and to manifest the sincerity of his protestations by this solemn and public avowal of his feelings. “ This mission,” he continued, addressing Alexander, “ our king “ has confided to us, the princes of the English church, “ and the members of his ancient nobility. In selecting “ us, he is only anxious to manifest the respect which “ he entertains for the chair of Peter; to shew you that “ the most exalted of his subjects are the only persons “ by whom he would convey to you the expression of

back as the middle ages to obtain his illustrations. See Hist. of the Middle Ages, vol. iv. p. 243. The fact, however, is that the declaration in question, as far as concerns the Earl of Arundel, is nothing more than a rhetorical artifice. He was probably unable to express himself in Latin, and therefore addressed the Pope in English. But that he understood what the bishops had already said is evident from the rebuke which he levels at the acrimony of their language:— “ Nec ad hoc utique ut contendamus, vel ut cuiquam faciamus contumelias, venimus.” (Gerv. 1395.) It may be added that the testimony of Stephanides, or Fitz Stephen, relative to this very speech, shews, in opposition to Mr. Turner’s elegant theory of the “ christian druids,” and the “ ignorant community,” that the laity even of those days possessed members not at all inferior in acquirements to their clerical guides. “ Comes Arundelli *efficacius cæteris et magis rhetorice, prosequente omni favore, locutus est, et omne tulit punctum.*” (Vita Becket, in Spark’s Collection). Yet one of his companions was Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, the celebrated orator and grammarian.

“ his reverential regard. Of that regard you have
“ already seen the evidence. In the commencement of
“ your pontificate, he submitted himself unhesitatingly
“ to your direction : his crown and his possessions were
“ deposited at your feet ; and he proved himself then, as
“ he wishes to prove himself now, the zealous and the
“ pious advocate of that peace, whose preservation is
“ among the first and most essential of his kingly duties.
“ Nor let it be imagined that I would insinuate any
“ thing to the disparagement of the archbishop. Though,
“ in the eyes of some, he may occasionally appear
“ tenacious and inflexible, yet, in his degree, he is not
“ less exemplary than his sovereign. In the govern-
“ ment of his church, in the discharge of his pastoral
“ obligations, his vigilance is as constant as his discre-
“ tion is remarkable : and were it not for the unfortunate
“ misunderstanding which now separates him from his
“ prince, not a cloud would rest on the happiness of a
“ priesthood and a people, which may be truly said to
“ possess the best of kings, and the holiest of pastors.
“ To remove this misunderstanding we have ventured
“ to appeal to you ; and we implore you at once to
“ adopt such measures as are best calculated to ensure
“ this desirable result.” But, unfortunately, the Earl
was associated in the embassy with other less conciliating
tempers. The proposals of Alexander were rejected by
the bishop of London, and his clerical companions ;
and the deputation returned at the end of several weeks,
only to announce the failure of their mission.^a

The moderation of Albini on this occasion was far
from displeasing Henry. Sensible, indeed, of his

^a Gervase, 1394—1396.

incorruptible integrity, that prince seems to have valued him more highly for his independence, and to have rewarded him only with additional testimonies of his confidence. In 1168, he appointed him to conduct his daughter, Matilda, into Germany, preparatory to her marriage with Henry, Duke of Saxony:^a and, five years later, selected him for one of his own securities to the agreement drawn up at the wedding of his son, Prince John, with Alice, daughter to Hubert, Earl of Savoy.^b

In the year 1173, the turbulent designs of Henry's sons began to develop themselves; and Normandy and England were at once shaken with the general convulsion. In both countries the services of the Earl of Arundel were eminently conspicuous. He commanded the victorious army which, during the summer, successfully opposed Louis and the confederate princes on the continent: and, later in the autumn, was equally fortunate in breaking the force of the disaffected at home. The Earl of Leicester, who had just landed with a body of Flandricans in the interest of the French king, had taken the castle of Hageneth and the town of Norwich, and was hastening to join his retainers in the castle of Leicester. At Fornham, in Suffolk, he was met by the royal army, commanded by William Earl of Arundel, Richard de Lucy, the justiciary, and Humphrey de Bohun, the lord constable. The rebels were instantly overpowered: the Earl of Leicester, his countess, and all the knights of his train were taken, and more than ten thousand Flandricans were left dead on the field.^c

^a Vincent, MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467.

^b Hoveden, 532.

^c Brompton, 1086, 1089.

The remainder of this Earl's history, as far as it is known, may be comprised in a few words. He built the abbey of Buckenham, in Norfolk, and endowed it with eighty acres of land that formed the site of a castle which he there possessed. In conjunction with his wife, he founded the priory of Pynham, near Arundel, which will be hereafter noticed: he endowed the prebend of East Dean and West Dean in the cathedral of Chichester, and made some extensive grants to the priory of Boxgrove, in Sussex. He also founded the chapel of St. Thomas in Wymundham, and confirmed the foundation grants of his father to that religious establishment.^a Matthew Paris, in the life of Robert, the eighteenth abbot of St. Alban's,^b gives a long account of a dispute between that personage and the Earl of Arundel respecting Wymundham, and of the manner in which the good abbot contrived to "tame" the "indomitable" Earl. He died at Waverley, in Surrey, on the twelfth of October, 1176, and was buried at Wymundham on the nineteenth of the same month.^c

1176.

Eloquent in council and bold in action, this nobleman was respected by his contemporaries both as a statesman and a soldier. His prudence enabled him to steer wide of the difficulties which involved so many others of his day in ruin; and his moderation always secured to him the esteem even of those to whom he was opposed. He left issue by his wife, Queen Adeliza, four sons and

^a Cart. 13 Hen. 3. m. 15. per Inspex. Monasticon Ang. I. 592. II. 143, 274. Baronage I. 120.

^b P. 1032—1034.

^c Diceto, 595. "Anno 23 Henrici secundi Regis, MCLXXVI. obiit Wilhelmus Comes de Arundel senior, apud Waverleiam IV. Id. Octobris." Annal. Waverl. 161.

three daughters, of whom William, the eldest, succeeded him in the Earldom.^a

V.

WILLIAM DE ALBINI, SECOND EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

Of William, the eldest son of the last Earl, nothing is recorded previous to the death of his father. In January of the following year, he was present at the council of Northampton, and there received from the king the investiture of the Earldom of Sussex.^b For some reason, however, with which we are unacquainted, the Castle of Arundel, with its appendant dignities and possessions, seems to have been withheld from him. We know that it was in the king's hands both in 1180 and 1183:^c it was still in the possession of the crown in 1189;^d and was most probably never surrendered to him until the necessities of Richard, who was in Palestine, compelled the chancellor, Longchamp, in 1191,

^a Dugd. Bar. I. 120.

^b "Wilhelmo de Albineio, filio Wilhelmi Comitis de Arundel, (Rex) dedit comitatum de Southsax." Hoveden, 560. Mr. Dallaway (Rape of Chichester, lxxxv. note) omits the words "filio Wilhelmi Comitis de Arundel," and applies the passage to the first Earl William, who died in the preceding year.

^c Madox, Baron, 63, 71.

^d Ibid. 65. It has been suggested as a reason for this detention of the castle and honour by Henry the second, that the Earl might have been a minor at the period in question. (Peerage Rep^t. I. 410). This supposition, however, is negatived by the fact, that, in 1180, the earliest of the years mentioned in the text, he was receiving the third penny from the pleas of the county, as Earl of Sussex. Madox, Ibid. 139.

- to release it for a sum of two thousand marks.^a In the same year, on the termination of the disputes between the chancellor and the king's brother, Arundel was appointed to the custody of Windsor Castle, with charge to preserve it for Richard, during his life, and to deliver it to John in the event of Richard's death.^b In 1194, he was one of the receivers of the money raised for the king's ransom, and, in consideration of his services, obtained for his own estates in Norfolk and Suffolk a special remission of the tax by which it was levied.^c He died in 1196, leaving issue by his wife, Maud, daughter of James de St. Hilary, and relict of Roger, Earl of Clare, three sons, William, Alan, and Geoffrey.^d

^a Rot. Pip. 2 Ric. 1.

^b Hoveden, 700.

^c Lib. Rub. Scaccarii, 64. Vincent, MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467.

^d Nicolas' Synops. 26. Vincent on Brooke, 21. It may be proper to remark here that there is a considerable variance amongst all the writers on this subject, as to the number of Albinis, Earls of Arundel, and, consequently, as to the periods of their deaths. Dugdale mentions only *four*—three named William, and one Hugh : others have followed this author ; and Lord Redesdale lately, in the Peerage Report, has adopted the same account. These persons are evidently in error. A confirmation grant from Henry III. thus commences—"Henricus Rex, &c. Sciatis nos concessisse, et hâc cartâ nostrâ confirmasse donationem, quam *Wilhelmus, Comes Sussex quartus*, fecit Ricardo de Atteville," &c. (Cart. 12 Hen. 3. m. 6). Add to this another document, which has been printed by Dugdale (Monast. II. 920). It is the confirmation charter given by William "*tertius Comes Sussex*," to the monks of Robertsbridge ; and is witnessed, amongst others, by "*Wilelmus de Albiney filius Comitum*."

VI.

WILLIAM DE ALBINI, THIRD EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

William, the eldest of the three sons of William, fifth Earl of Arundel, succeeded, on the death of his father, to his titles and possessions.^a With the period of his birth, and the actions of his early life, we are equally unacquainted. It is only known that he paid his relief, and obtained livery of his estates, immediately on the demise of his parent;^b and it is most probable, therefore, that his minority had expired before that event.

Though his name is not recorded in connexion with the public transactions of the time, it would seem that he was associated with the counsels of John from an early period of his reign. He had already assisted at the coronation of that monarch;^c he had obtained extensive grants of land, the produce of various forfeitures in Surrey, Sussex, and Southampton;^d and had probably accompanied the king in his unsuccessful attempts to defend Normandy against Philip of France, when the dispute between John and the Roman pontiff called his attention to the important, but inglorious, events, which were passing nearer home. Of his opinion on

1199.

1204.

^a This Earl is said by Mr. Dallaway (R. of Arund. 118. N. E.) to have been surnamed "Meschines:" but William de Albin Meschines belonged to another family. He was the grandson of Robert de Todnei, or de Belvoir; and son of William de Albin Brito, whose estate was at Belvoir. See Dugd. Bar. I. 113.

^b Rot. Pip. 7 Ric. 1. Norf.

^c Hoveden, 793.

^d Claus. 6 Joh. m. 14, 15, 21.

the subject of that dispute we have no means of information. His predilections, perhaps, induced him to attach himself to his sovereign; his anxiety for peace, to subscribe to any measures by which a reconciliation might be accomplished: and it was most likely with a view to the termination of the quarrel, rather than with the hostile motives which actuated the greater part of the barons, that he affixed his name as a witness to the disgraceful instrument, which, in 1213, resigned the crown of England into the hands of the Pope.^a In the following summer, the interdict, which had been pronounced more than six years before, was revoked. John's first anxiety was to recover the affections of those among the barons, who had been alienated from him during the late transactions: and a commission was forthwith issued to the Earl of Arundel, authorizing him to grant letters of safe-conduct for the assurance and protection of those, who might be willing to effect their reconciliation with the king.^b Nor was the fidelity of this nobleman shaken by the events and confederacies which signalized the next few months. In the succeeding year, he was present at Runnymede, with the barons who still adhered to the royal cause; his name was inserted at the head of the great charter, among the counsellors who had advised it, and he was one of those who, on the part of the king, bound themselves by oath to obey the injunctions of the twenty-five nobles, appointed to enforce the execution of its provisions.^c

That the power assumed by this council would, under ordinary circumstances, have been an unwarrantable

^a Paris, 199.

^b Pat. 16 Joh. p. 1. m. 7.

^c Paris, 215, 220.

invasion of the royal prerogative will hardly be questioned: yet, in the present instance, it was necessary to oppose a barrier to the tyrannical perfidy of John, and the oath, thus exacted from his friends, offered, perhaps, the only chance of securing the important concessions that had been wrung from him. The event justified the precaution of the barons. In a few weeks John was in arms; but the oath which they had taken was not forgotten by some at least of his followers, and the desertion of many of his most influential adherents speedily succeeded. It was in the following May that Louis, the son of the French Monarch, landed in Kent, to claim the crown which had been offered to him by the barons. On his arrival in London, his first care was to strengthen the party which he found waiting to receive him. He wrote to the King of Scots; he addressed letters to such of the nobility as had not yet declared themselves; and he had the satisfaction of receiving, in the course of a few days, offers of homage and support from most of the great barons that had hitherto sided with the king. Among these was the Earl of Arundel, who, with the Earls of Warren, Salisbury, and others, immediately joined the standard of the young prince.^a 1216.

By the death of John, October 19, 1216, the nation was unexpectedly delivered from the great cause of dissension, which had so long disturbed it. The youth, the innocence, and the undoubted right of his son, Henry, would be sure to rally round that prince a powerful party even of those who had withstood the tyrannical proceedings of his father; and accordingly, Louis,

^a Chron. Mailros, 191. Paris, 237.

however he might have congratulated himself on the removal of John, soon discovered that he was likely to find only a more formidable competitor in Henry. Among the first of those who made their submission to the young monarch was the Earl of Arundel. The tyranny of John had expired with the tyrant: the plea which had justified his revolt was therefore removed; and the earliest opportunity was seized, to lay at the feet of his sovereign the profession of his attachment, and a promise of his future support.^a Henry, in return, immediately ordered the lands and castles of the Earl, which had been seized by John, to be restored to him;^b and shortly after, appointed him to the honourable station of one of the king's Justices.^c

1218. But dreams of distant glory were about to summon him to a foreign shore. The world at that moment was ringing with the exploits of the crusaders, and the eyes of Europe were turned towards the ancient city of Damietta, before which the christian army had assembled. The Earl of Arundel was ambitious of the laurels to be acquired in the sacred struggle. With the Earls of Chester, Winchester, and Ferrers, the barons Fitzwalter, Harcourt, and others, he embarked for the holy land, and arrived at Damietta in time to be present at the siege. On the fall of that city, in November 1219, Chester, with others of his companions, returned: but Arundel remained during another year, to share the labours and the glories of the victorious army. In 1221, and probably before Damietta had again fallen into the hands of the infidels, he once more set sail for

^a Paris, 246.

^b Vincent, MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467.

^c Fines 2 Hen. 3. apud Vinc. *ibid*.

England. He had, however, proceeded only as far as Camell, a small town in the neighbourhood of Rome, when he was taken ill: his disease, which rapidly advanced upon him, soon declared itself fatal; and, before the close of the year, he had ceased to exist. His body, dissected according to his own desire, was conveyed to England by Thomas, a monk of St. Alban's, and interred, with those of his ancestors, at Wymundham.^a

The Earl of Arundel was married to Mabel, sister and coheir to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, by whom he left issue, two sons—William and Hugh—and five daughters—Mabel, Isabel, Nicola, Cecily, and Colletta.^b

VII.

WILLIAM DE ALBINI, FOURTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

Of William, the eldest son and successor of the last Earl, history has recorded nothing. Too young to have engaged in the intrigues of the court, or the turbulent designs of the barons, he was scarcely of age, when the death of his father, in 1221, placed him in possession of his vast inheritance, and raised him to the dignity of Earl of Arundel. In the same year, he paid

^a Paris, 255, 260, 263. Regist. Priorat. de Dunstaple, fol. 16^a.
 “Anno MCCXXI. Willelmus Comes de Arundel, rediens de civitate Damietta moritur ultra Romam, apud quoddam oppidulum Kainel nomine, cujus corpus membratim divisum, ex ipsius jussione, in Angliam transportatum est.” Annal Waverl. 186.

^b Knyghton, 2431. Dugd. Bar. I. 121.

a relief of one hundred pounds to the king, and obtained livery of his estates.^a His enjoyment, however, of the property and honours of his family was but of short duration. He died without issue, and probably unmarried, in 1224; and was buried at Wymundham.^b

VIII.

HUGH DE ALBINI, FIFTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

Hugh de Albini, the fifth and last Earl of his family, was the second son of William, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1221. He is but little known in the annals of his time; and even the casual notices of him, that are scattered over the pages of our chroniclers, are tributes rather to the promise of future excellence which he exhibited, than to the importance of the actions in which he was engaged. At the death of his brother, he could barely have entered his ninth year.^c With the prospect of a long minority, his wardship became a valuable object in the eyes even of the celebrated justiciary, Hubert de Burgh; and the custody of the youth and his estates was, consequently, committed to that minister.^d In what manner Hubert discharged his important trust we are not informed: but we know the

^a Rot. Pip. 5 Hen. 3. Claus. 5 Hen. 3. m. 12 and 13.

^b Regist. de Dunstaple, fol. 21^a. "Anno MCCXXIV. obiit Willelmus Comes de Arundel adolescens, quarto anno post mortem patris sui, et sepultus est apud Wimundeham." Annal. Waverl. 188.

^c Paris, 355.

^d Regist. de Dunstaple, fol. 23^b.

rapacity which characterized his proceedings in other instances, and we may reasonably conclude that the young Earl of Arundel was not more fortunate in his guardian, than others who were intrusted to the same care. Before his minority had expired, however, the justiciary had fallen into disgrace. This probably suggested the idea of curtailing the period of his wardship; and in 1234, on application to the king, he was allowed to have possession, not only of the estates which had devolved to him on the death of his brother, but also of the lands, valued at five hundred pounds per annum, which he had inherited, in right of his mother, from Ralph, Earl of Chester.^a But for this favour he was compelled to pay a heavy purchase: a sum of two thousand five hundred marks was demanded for the king's use; and thirty-seven persons, earls, barons, and knights, were bound in various sums for the payment of the whole within two years. His castles of Arundel, Buckenham, and Rising were delivered, the first to Hugh Sanzaver, the others to two of his sureties, to be held by them in trust until the termination of his minority.^b

1234.

The Earl's first care, on assuming the management of his estates, was to repair the injuries which they had suffered, and rectify the abuses to which they had been exposed, under the guardianship of the justiciary. The reader will recollect his dispute with Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the excommunication with which that prelate avenged the seizure of his dogs in the forest of Arundel. Whilst the sentence was still in

1236.

^a Claus. 18 Hen. 3. m. 31 and 32. Paris, 320.

^b Fines 18 Hen. 3. p. 2. m. 11.

force, the king had demanded and obtained the hand of Eleanor, daughter to Raymond, Count of Provence, in marriage: the ceremony of the nuptials was immediately followed by the coronation of the royal bride; and Arundel of course claimed his hereditary privilege of acting as the monarch's cup-bearer on the occasion. To the difficulty, however, which might, perhaps, have been raised on the score of his nonage, another, and more formidable, objection was started on the ground of his excommunication.^a It was decided that a person so situated was incompetent to discharge the duty: and the Earl Warren, therefore, his father-in-law, assisted by Michael Belet, the hereditary under-butler, performed the function, and received, as the perquisite of the office, the gold cup from which the king drank at the entertainment.^b It is not improbable that the mortification

^a Paris mentions only the objection of his minority (p. 355): the Red Book of the Exchequer only that of his excommunication (f. 232). The latter is the better authority: but both reasons may have had their weight.

^b "Anno xx.^o Regis Henrici 3, coronata fuit Alianora Regina. " De officio Pincernariæ servivit eo die Comes Warren, vice Hugonis " de Albinaco Comitis Arundel, ad quem illud officium spectat. Fuit " autem idem Hugo eo tempore sententiâ excommunicationis inno- " datus, &c. Servivit autem sub eodem, in latere suo, magister Michael " Belet, cujus est illud officium secundario ut teneat coppam porrigen- " dam Comiti Arund. vino refertam cum Rex exigerit, ut Comes " eandem Regi porrigat. Habet enim Mag. Michael Belet Pincerna- " riam in domo Regis sub Comite de jure veteri. Peracto autem " prandio, recepit Comes Pincerna coppam Regis de quâ servierat, " tanquam jus suum; et Magister Michael robam illius Comitis " tanquam jus suum. Dedit etiam Mag. Michael robam suam Henrico " de Capella, cognato suo, qui reliquis diebus anni consuevit servire " Dñ'o Regi de Cuppâ suâ. Non tamen tenebatur dare nisi vellet."

which he felt, in this exclusion from the honours of his family, may have influenced the Earl in hastening his appeal to the Roman See against the sentence of the archbishop: his success, however, in the prosecution of that appeal seems only to have called forth another adversary, in the person of Ralph Neville, then bishop of Chichester. That prelate enjoyed, as an appurtenance of his bishopric, the right of hunting in one of the chases within the Honour of Arundel: but this right, which was not exclusive, had always been shared in common with the possessors of the earldom; and Earl Hugh, in the exercise of his own undoubted privilege, was in the habit of pursuing his diversion within the limits of the same ground. It appears to have struck the bishop that this circumstance might be rendered available to the double purpose of encreasing his own possessions, and avenging the cause of his metropolitan. Having determined to claim the sole property in the chase in question, his first step was to deny the liberty of the Earl within its precincts; his next, to denounce the penalty of excommunication against any attempt to enforce it: but Arundel had become wise from past experience, and, instead of daring the power of his spiritual opponent, resolved, in the first instance, to disarm him of his terrors. Hastening to the royal presence,

1240.

Lib. Rub. Scacc. f. 232. I have printed this passage for two reasons:—first, because Mr. Dallaway, who has strangely, though of course unintentionally, mutilated it, applies it to William, the father of Earl Hugh, and to the coronation of King John (Rape of Arund. 118 note, N. E.): secondly, because it contains the earliest recorded acknowledgment of the ancient right of the chief Butler, and his assistant.

he laid the statement of his case before the king. Henry listened with attention to the story as it proceeded. He had never, perhaps, approved of the conduct of the archbishop towards the Earl, and now that the sentence of that prelate had been reversed, he was less likely to countenance his suffragan in a similar prostitution of religion to temporal purposes. He wrote instantly to the bishop: he detailed the complaint which he had heard: he ordered him to reserve his spiritual censures for spiritual objects; and he concluded by informing him that, if he had any claim of a secular nature to urge against the Earl of Arundel, he must pursue it in the secular courts, where alone he was determined to permit such matters to be decided in future.^a It is scarcely necessary to add that the pretensions of the bishop were at an end.

1242. From these disputes at home the Earl was called to other and more important scenes abroad. In 1242, he was summoned to attend the king in his expedition to Guienne, and was one of the seven earls that accompanied him on that occasion. From Portsmouth the royal troops sailed about the middle of May: on the nineteenth of the same month, they landed at Royan, at the mouth of the Gironde, and, in the course of a few weeks, during which a demand of satisfaction for certain alleged infractions of an existing armistice was made by Henry, and rejected by the French monarch, they learned that the latter was in full march to meet them, at the head of an overwhelming force. It was on the nineteenth of July that the two armies arrived at Taillebourg, a small town of Saintonge, situated on the Charente. In the unequal conflict, which imme-

^a Claus. 24 Hen. 3. m. 6.

diately ensued, Arundel was present, cheering by his example the courage of his companions, and assisting by his prowess to keep the fortune of the day in suspense. But valour and exertion were alike unavailing against the host of assailants to which they were opposed: the English lines, pressed by the enemy in front, and alarmed by the intelligence that a party was about to intercept their retreat, broke, and fled; and Arundel, with the rest of the fugitives, was compelled to seek refuge in the town of Saintes. The next morning, the contest was renewed, with doubtful success on both sides; and a cessation of hostilities for some weeks was the consequence.^a Whether the Earl remained to witness the inglorious termination of the campaign is uncertain. He had returned to England before the end of the year, and, on the seventh of the following May, 1243, expired "in the flower of his youth." His body was conveyed to Wymundham, and interred with his ancestors in the church of that priory.^b He married Isabel, daughter of William, Earl of Warren and Surrey, by whom, however, he had no children:^c so that the

1243.

^a Claus. 26 Hen. 3. p. 3. m. 3. in dorso. Paris, 517—523. Ling. II. 301. ^b Paris, 531. Leland, Collect. III. 414.

^c Claus. 27 Hen. 3. m. 5. On the thirteenth of May, six days after the death of her husband, the Countess of Arundel received the manors of Wymundham and Kenninghall, as a temporary provision, until other property should be assigned for her dower (Ibid). In August, a permanent settlement was made, and she then obtained the hundred and manor of Bourne and manor of Stansted, in Sussex, with various other property of a similar description in Buckingham and Norfolk, (Claus. Vascon. 27 Henry 3. m. 2, 3, 7.). Paris (735) has detailed a spirited dialogue maintained by her with King Henry the third, on the subject of a claim which she preferred to that

personal dignity of Earl of Sussex fell into abeyance between his four surviving sisters: the local title, which he derived from the Castle of Arundel, was transferred to the inheritor of that property.

monarch. The life of St. Richard, by Ralph Bocking, his confessor, is dedicated to her. She died in 1282, and was buried at Marham in Norfolk, in the conventual church which she had there founded. *Regist. S. Benedict. de Hulmo. Annal. Waverl. 210.*

PEDIGREE OF FITZALAN.

ALAN FITZ-FLEALD, accompanied the Conqueror to England, and obtained the castle of Madoc ap Meredith, in Wales. Witnessed the Conqueror's grant of the church of Andover to the monastery of St. Florence. Pat. 8 Ed. 2. p. 2. m. 2. per Inspex. daughter and heir of Warren the bald, Sheriff of Shropshire, and great niece to Roger Montgomery. Dugd. Bar. I. 314.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, lord of Oswaldestre, and Sheriff of Salop: founded the abbey of Haghmond in 1100 (Monast. II. 46.): ob. 1160. Rot. Pip. 6 Hen. 2. Salop. HELEN, daughter of William Peverel, who inherited lands between Morlaix and Karhais, in Bretagne. Orderic, 917.

WALTER, who purchased the Stewartry of Scotland from Malcolm IV., in 1158, and became the ancestor of the royal family of Stuart. Anstis, Gart. I. 270.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, lord of Oswaldestre, and, in right of his wife, lord also of Clun: ob. 1210. Regist. de Dunst. f. 9. ISABEL, lady of Clun, daughter and heir of Ingelram de Say. Monast. I. 613.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, lord of Clun and Oswaldestre, did homage for his father's lands, in 1214 (Pat. 16 Joh. m. 4.); ob. S. P. 1215, or 1216. Vinc. No. 3. f. 100. MARY, daughter of Thomas de Erdington, who had dower assigned her, An. 3 Hen. 3. Claus. 3 Hen. 3. m. 10. Vinc. No. 3. f. 103. 1. ISABEL, sister and co-heir of Hugh de Albini, EARL OF ARUNDEL, (Pat. 28 Hen. 3. m. 12). Vinc. No. 3. f. 86, 232. JOHN FITZALAN, lord of Clun and Oswaldestre=2. HAWISE DE BLANCMINSTER, survived her husband. Claus. 24 Hen. 3. Hen. 3. m. 14. Vinc. No. 3. f. 110, 111, 160, 162. m. 11.

JOHN FITZALAN, lord of Clun and Oswaldestre, had livery of his father's lands, in 1243, and, in the same year, as cousin and one of the heirs of Hugh de Albini, succeeded to the castle, and became ninth EARL OF ARUNDEL (Fines 28 Hen. 3. m. 6. Pat. 28 Hen. 3. m. 13.): ob. 1268. Esch. 52 Hen. 3. No. 56. MAUD, daughter of Rhys de Verdun, who married, secondly, Richard de Amundeville: ob. 12 Ed. 1. Vinc. No. 3. f. 315. Dugd. Warwick. 44. Stem. famil.

JOHN FITZALAN, tenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, born Sep. 14, 1246, ob. March, 1272. Esch. 52 Hen. 3. m. 2. and 56 Hen. 3. ISABELLA, daughter of Sir Roger Mortimer, of Chirke; had dower in 1272 (Claus. 56 Hen. 3. m. 4.): married, secondly, to Ralph de Arderne (Claus. 4 Ed. 1. m. 6. cedul.); and thirdly, Sept. 2, 1285, to Rob. de Hastings (Com. Term. S. Mich. 14 and 15 Ed. 1. rot. 2. dors. Vinc. No. 3. f. 142, 143, 198, 214, 221, 32.): living in 1300. Townsend's MS. Collect. for new edition of Dugdale, I. 579.

RICHARD FITZALAN, eleventh EARL OF ARUNDEL, born Feb. 3, 1267, ob. 1302. Inq. p. m. 56 Hen. 3. No. 36. and 30 Ed. 1. No. 30. ALISONA, daughter of the Marquess of Saluzzo, in Piedmont: ob. Septemb. 25, 1292. Buried at Totingham. MS. Ashm. 8467.

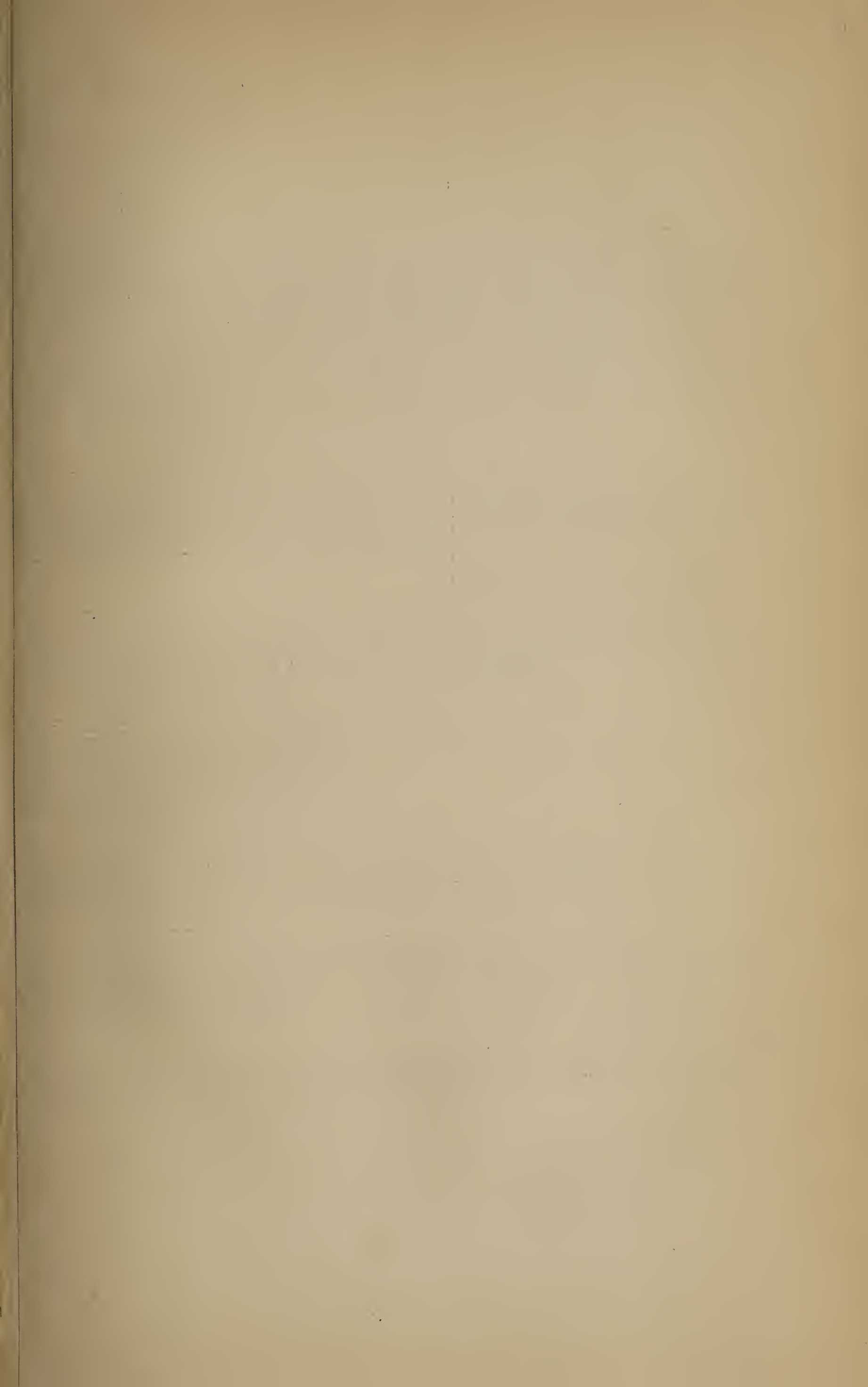
EDMUND FITZALAN, twelfth EARL OF ARUNDEL, born May 1, 1285, beheaded at Hereford, Nov. 17, 1326. MS. Ashm. 8467. ALICE, sister, and afterwards heir, to John, Earl of Warren and Surrey: married in 1305, living in 1330. MS. Ashm. 8467, and Pat. 4 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 42. SIR JOHN DE ARUNDEL, a clergyman, recommended to the pope for preferment, by Edward II. (Rot. Rom. 13 Ed. 2. m. 7. dors.), and mentioned in his nephew, Earl Richard's will, in 1375, as still living. Testam. Vetust. p. 94. MAUD, married to Philip, Lord Burnel, of Acton Burnel. Vinc. Discov. 34. MARGARET, married to William, Baron Boteler, of Wem. Vinc. Discov. 34.

1. ISABEL, daughter of Hugh le Despencer, married in 1321 (Pat. 14 Ed. 2. m. 22.); divorced in 1345. Rot. Rom. 19 Ed. 3. m. 4. RICHARD FITZALAN, thirteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, and Earl of Surrey, born in 1306, restored in Parliament in 1330, ob. Jan. 24, 1376, buried at Lewes. Rot. Parl. II. 56. Regist. Priorat. de Lewes. 2. ELEANOR PLANTAGENET, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and widow of John, Lord Beaumont, (Esch. 47 Ed. 3. No. 2.): married in 1345, ob. at Arundel, Jan. 11, 1372, buried at Lewes. Pat. 19 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 10. Lib. Prior. de Lewes. EDMUND DE ARUNDEL, recommended by the king to the pope for clerical preferment, (Rot. Rom. 14 Ed. 3. m. 3.), but was afterwards married, and knighted. By his wife, Sibil, daughter of William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, he had one daughter, Alice, married to Leonard, Lord Carew, of Mulesford, in Berks. MS. Ashm. 8467. ALICE, married to John de Bohun, son and heir of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford; died soon after her marriage: buried at Walden. Monast. II. 68. JANE, married to Warren, Lord Lisle. Vinc. Discov. p. 26. ALAINE, married to Sir Roger le Strange; mentioned in her brother's will, An. 1375. Test. Vetust. p. 94. She is accidentally omitted in page 224 of this history.

PHILIPPA, married to Sir Richard Serjaux of Cornwall, Knt. Vinc. Discov. p. 27. 1. ELIZABETH, daughter of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, married in 1359 (Pat. 33 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 2.), ob. April 3, 1385, buried at Lewes. Regist. Prior. de Lewes. RICHARD FITZALAN, fourteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, and Earl of Surrey, K. G. born about 1346, beheaded Sep. 21, 1397, buried in Bread St. London. Walsingham, 354, 355. 2. PHILIPPA, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, and widow of John, Earl of Pembroke; married in 1391 (Pat. 15 Ric. 2. p. 1. m. 6.). She married, thirdly, Poynings, Lord St. John, of Basing, and died, Sep. 26, 1400: buried at Boxgrove. Regist. Lewes. THOMAS DE ARUNDEL, consecrated bishop of Ely, 1374, archbishop of York, 1388, translated to Canterbury, 1396. Died Feb. 19, 1413, buried in Canterbury Cathedral. Godwin. Præsul. 123, 125. He is named before John in his father's will. JOHN DE ARUNDEL, Marshal of England in 1377 (Walsing. 198.), summoned to parliament, An. 1, 2, and 3 Ric. 2. ob. Dec. 15, 1379. Esch. 3 Ric. 2. No. 1. ELEANOR, grand daughter and co-heir of John, Lord Maltravers, (Esch. 38 Ed. 3. no. 37.); married, secondly, to Reginald, Lord Cobham; ob. Jan. 10, 1405. Esch. 6 Hen. 4. no. 31. 1. JOAN, married to Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, ob. April 7, 1419, buried at Walden. Esch. 7 Hen. 5. no. 59. She is named before Alice in her father's will. 2. ALICE, affianced, in 1336, to Edmund Mortimer, afterwards Earl of March, (Claus. 10 Ed. 3. m. 10. dors.), but married to Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, (Claus. 10 Ed. 3. m. 15.): ob. March 17, 1417. Stem. famil. 3. MARY, married to John, Lord Strange of Blackmere (Vinc. Discov. 27): died before her father. 4. ELEANOR, married to Robert, son of William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (Pat. 45 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 14.): ob. vit. patris.

A

B



A

B

RICHARD, named first in his father's will, and called his heir (Royal and Noble Wills, p. 129.): ob. S. P.

THOMAS FITZALAN, fifteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, and Earl of Surrey, K. G. born Oct. 13, 1381 (MS. Ashm. 8467), re-stored in 1399 (Rot. Parl. III. 425), ob. S. P. Oct. 13, 1415; buried at Arundel. Rot. Lewes.

= BEATRIX, natural daughter of John, King of Portugal; married in 1405 (Wals. 374.), naturalized and obtained dower in 1421 (Rot. Parl. IV. 130.), remarried to John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, in S. P. Oct. 13, 1415; 1432 (Pat. 11 Hen. 6. p. 1. m. 14.), ob. at Bordeaux, Oct. 23, 1439; buried at Arundel. Regist. Lewes. 108.

WILLIAM, died before his father, S. P. Regist. Lewes. 132.

ELIZABETH, born in 1372 (Esch. 4 Hen. 5.), married, first, to William Montacute, eldest son of William, Earl of Salisbury; secondly, to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; thirdly, to Sir Gerard Ufflete, Knt.; fourthly, to Sir Rob. Goushill, of Hoveringham, Notts. Dugd. Bar. I. 320. ob. 1425.

JOAN, born in 1375, (Esch. 4 Hen. 5.), married William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny (Esch. 14 Hen. 6. No. 35.), ob. 1435.

MARGARET, born in 1386 (Esch. 4 Hen. 5.), married, first, to Sir Rowland Lenthall (Esch. 1 Hen. 6.), and secondly, to Tresham, of Northampton. ob. 1483, æt. 97. Esch. 1 Ric. 3. No. 43.

ALICE, married to John Charlton, Lord Powys, but died S. P. before 1416. Regist. Lewes. 132.

JOHN DE ARUNDEL, in right of his mother, Lord Maltravers, born in 1365. ob. 1391. Esch. 3 Ric. 2. No. 1, and 14 Ric. 2.

= ELIZABETH, daughter of Hugh le Despencer. Stem. famil.

WILLIAM, K. G. THOMAS, also called Edward, and HENRY, all named in their grandfather's will, and living in 1375.

RICHARD, mentioned in the wills of William and his wife. ob. 1436.

JOAN, spoken of, though not by name, in her grandfather's will, and living in 1375. Testament. Vet. 94, 150, 156. Stem. famil.

JOHN FITZALAN, sixteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, born in 1387, (Esch. 14 Ric. 2.), succeeded to the Castle of Arundel, in 1415, as cousin and next heir male to Earl Thomas (Esch. 4 Hen. 5. No. 54.): ob. 1421, buried at Arundel. Esch. 9 Hen. 5. No. 51.

= ELEANOR, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverston, in Gloucestershire, Knt. married, secondly, to Richard, son of Robert, Lord Poynings, by whom she had a daughter, Alianor, ancestress to the Earls and Dukes of Northumberland; and thirdly, to Sir Walter Hungerford, Lord Hungerford, from whom the Earls of Huntingdon, and Marquess of Hastings are descended (Claus. 34 Hen. 6. m. 4 and 15.): her will is dated July 20, and proved August 23, 1455: buried at Arundel.

EDMUND, seized of the manor of Enyow, or Aynho, in Northamptonshire. Stem. famil.

MARGARET, married to William, Lord Ros (Monast. I. 728.), ob. July 3, 1440. Esch. 17 Hen. 6. No. 51.

SIR THOMAS ARUNDEL, of Bechworth, County of Surrey, Knt. Stem. famil.

= ELEANOR, daughter and heir, married Sir Thomas Brown, Knt. Treasurer of the household to Henry VI., and ancestor of the Viscounts Montague.

1. CONSTANCE, daughter of John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope. ob. S. P. before 1433. Lib. S. Albani, f. 159. MS. Ashm. 8467.

= JOHN FITZALAN, seventeenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, K. G. born about 1408 (Esch. 9 Hen. 5. No. 51.): ob. June 12, 1435 (Esch. 13 Hen. 6. No. 37.), buried at Beauvais.

2. MAUD, daughter and heir of Robert Lovell, Knt., and widow of Sir Richard Stafford, by whom she had a daughter, Avice, married to James, Earl of Wilts (Inq. p. m. 36 Hen. 6. apud Dorchester.): ob. 1436. Esch. 15 Hen. 6. No. 39.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, nineteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, K. G. born Nov. 23, 1417, succeeded his nephew as Earl, in 1438 (Orig. 17 Hen. 6. rot. 37.); ob. 1488, buried at Arundel. MS. Ashm. 8467.

= JOAN, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and sister to Richard, "the King-maker," Earl of Warwick: buried at Arundel. MS. Ashm. 8467.

HUMPHREY FITZALAN, eighteenth EARL OF ARUNDEL, born Jan. 30, 1429; ob. S. P. April 24, 1438. Esch. 13 Hen. 6, and 16 Hen. 6. No. 50.

THOMAS FITZALAN, twentieth EARL OF ARUNDEL, K. G. summoned to parliament as Lord Maltravers, in 1482 (Append. to Peerage Rep. 985.), succeeded his father in 1488, ob. at Downley, Oct. 25, 1524, buried at Arundel. Burials, I. 15. f. 162b.

= MARGARET, second daughter of Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, and sister to Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., died before her husband: buried at Arundel. Stem. famil. MS. Ashm. 8467.

WILLIAM. GEORGE. JOHN. MARY.

1. ELIZABETH, daughter of Robert Lord Willoughby de Broke. Stem. famil.

= WILLIAM FITZALAN, twenty-first EARL OF ARUNDEL, K. G., born in 1484 (Esch. 17 Hen. 8. No. 170.), ob. Jan. 23, 1544, buried at Arundel. Esch. 36 Hen. 8. No. 117.

2. ANNE, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland (MS. Ashm. 8467.); executrix to her husband (Test. Vetust. 706.): her will is dated March 4, and proved Dec. 14, 1552.

EDWARD. Vinc. Discov. 32.

MARGARET, married to John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln. Vincent, Discov. 32.

JOAN, married to George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny. Vinc. Discov. 32.

MARGARET and ELIZABETH, both died young, and probably unmarried. Dugd. Bar. I. 324.

1. CATHERINE, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and aunt to Lady Jane Grey. Vinc. Discov. 33, 174.

= HENRY FITZALAN, twenty-second EARL OF ARUNDEL, and last Earl of his family, K. G. Governor of Calais, Marshal of the Army, and Chancellor of Oxford; born in 1513 (Esch. 36 Hen. 8. No. 117.), ob. Feb. 24, 1580, buried at Arundel. King's MSS. 17. A. ix. f. 69.

2. MARY, daughter of Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne, and widow of Robert, Earl of Sussex; ob. at Arundel House, Oct. 21, 1557, buried at St. Clement's Danes. Strype Mem. III. 385. MS. Ashm. 8467.

ANNE, not named in her mother's will. ob. S. P. Stem. famil.

CATHERINE, married to Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, by whom, however, she had no issue. Vinc. Discov. 510. She was afterwards repudiated, and is named in her mother's will, as alive in 1552.

HENRY FITZALAN, Lord Maltravers, born in 1533, ob. S. P. at Brussels, June 30, 1556: buried in the cathedral of Brussels. MS. Ashm. 8467.

= ANNE, daughter and heir of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield, in Essex, and widow of Sir Hugh Rich, third son of Richard, Lord Rich, of Leeze. MS. Ashm. 8467.

JOAN, married before the 4th of March, 1552, to John, Lord Lumley; ob. S. P. about the year 1576. King's MSS. 17 A. ix. f. 67. and MS. Ashm. 8467.

MARY, eventually sole heiress of the Earldom of Arundel, born about 1541, ob. Aug. 25, 1557, buried at St. Clement's Danes. MS. Life of her son, p. 2. Strype, Mem. III. 383.

= THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk, beheaded June 2, 1572, buried in the tower. Camd. 217.

From whom the Howards, Earls of Arundel, and Dukes of Norfolk.

CHAPTER VI.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE EARLS OF ARUNDEL.—HOUSE OF FITZALAN FROM ITS ACCESSION TO ITS UNION WITH THE FAMILY OF MALTRAVERS.

IX.

JOHN FITZALAN, FIRST EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

THE family of Fitzalan, like those of Montgomery and De Albini, was of Norman origin. It derived its descent from Alan, the son of Fleald, or Flataldus, who accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066, and received, amongst 1066. other spoils of the vanquished natives, the castle of Madoc ap Meredith, in Wales, with the lordship of Oswaldestre, in the county of Salop.^a His wife was daughter to Warren the bald, Sheriff of Shropshire, and consequently great niece to Roger Montgomery.^b By her he had two sons, William, who, adopting his patronymic, was called Fitzalan, and Walter, who pursued his fortunes in Scotland, and, purchasing from king David the office of Grand Steward in that country, became the progenitor of the royal family of Stuart.^c William Fitzalan married Ellen, daughter to William Peverel, and niece to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and obtained with her a large ac-

^a Vincent, N^o. III. 26, 419. BB. 486, 576. apud Coll. Arm.

^b Dugd. Bar. I. 314.

^c Lord Hailes, I. Append. N^o. 8. Anstis, Hist. of Garter, I. 270. Chalmers, Caledonia, I. 572—574. “Anno 1158, Ego Milcolumbus Rex confirmavi *Waltero Filio Alani*, Dapifero meo, et heredibus suis, in feodo et hereditate, Senescalliam meam . . . ita bene et plenarie, sicut Rex David Senescalliam suam ei dedit.” Confirmation Grant of Malcolm IV. apud Crawford’s Hist. of the Stuart Family. It must have been in consequence of this Grant, that Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, in 1336, sold the stewardship, as an hereditary possession, to Edward the third. Pat. 10 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 10.

cession of property in Bretagne.^a He defended Shrews-
 1138. bury against Stephen, in 1138 : fought with the Empress
 1141. Maud at Winchester, three years later ; and was ap-
 pointed Sheriff of Shropshire by Henry the second, as
 1160. soon as he succeeded to the throne.^b He died in 1160,^c
 leaving an only son, William, whose marriage with
 Isabel, daughter and heir of Ingelram de Say, added
 the extensive lordship of Clun to the patrimonial posses-
 sions of the family.^d The titles of Clun and Oswaldestre
 were now united. William, the first lord of those
 1210. honours died, in 1210 ;^e and, in 1215, or 1216, his son
 1215-16. and successor of the same name also deceased.^f The
 latter left no issue. The property, therefore, devolved
 on his surviving brother, John,^g who, in 1215, joined the
 barons in their opposition to the tyrannical measures of
 1236. the king, and by Henry the third, in 1236, was appointed
 one of the Lords Marchers in Wales.^h His death oc-
 1240. curred in 1240, when he was succeeded by his only son,
 John, the subject of the present memoir.ⁱ

John Fitzalan, the first Earl of Arundel of his family,

^a Orderic, 917.

^b Ibid. Annal. Waverl. 153. Gesta Steph. 956. Lib. Rub. Scacc. 185, 189. ^c Rot. Pip. 6 Hen. 2. Salop.

^d Vincent. MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467. ^e Regist. de Dunstap. f. 9.

^f Vinc. N^o. 3. f. 100. The instrument here cited is a return of persons capable of serving in the wars, and states that William Fitzalan, who was at Clun in company with his brother John, had died there, “ ad hanc pascham.” It is without date ; but is addressed to king John ; and, as Fitzalan, who is sufficiently identified by the mention of his brother, was alive, and did homage in 1214 (Pat. 16 Joh. m. 4.), and as king John died in October, 1216, it is evident that the Easter spoken of must have been either of that, or of the preceding, year.

^g Fines, 4 Hen. 3. m. 6, vel 9.

^h Paris, 213. Pat. 20 Hen. 3.

ⁱ Claus. 24 Hen. 3. m. 14.

was the issue of his father's first marriage, with Isabel, second sister and coheir of Hugh de Albini, Earl of Arundel and Sussex.^a The period of his birth has not been recorded: he was still a minor at the latter end of the year 1243; but, as he was then admitted to do 1243. homage for his estates, it is more than probable that he had nearly attained his majority. It was in the preceding May that the death of his uncle, the Earl of Arundel, had left the immense possessions, which had been attached to the earldom, to be divided among his four sisters or their representatives. In the course of the autumn, a partition of the property was made, under the direction of the crown; and Fitzalan, to whom, in right of his mother, the Castle and honour of Arundel were assigned, paid a fine of one thousand pounds for the remainder of the king's term, and obtained livery both of them and of the patrimonial estates of his family.^b With the former he, of course, succeeded to the appendant dignity of Earl.

The first notice which has been discovered of this nobleman's public actions occurs in the year 1257. At 1257. that period, he was summoned, as one of the Lords Marchers of Wales, to accompany an expedition into Montgomeryshire; and, in the following summer, was 1258. appointed to the command of all the forces destined to protect the Welsh borders.^c But the nature of the warfare was not calculated to confer glory on a commander. Both Henry and his son, the intrepid Edward, had repeatedly led their forces against the turbulent

^a Pat. 28 Hen. 3, m. 13.

^b Ibid. m. 12 and 13. Fines, 28 Hen. 3. m. 6.

^c Claus. 41 Hen. 3. m. 6. dors. and 42 Hen. 3. m. 3.

natives, and had, as repeatedly, returned foiled and disconcerted. From their hills and their fastnesses, the rude warriors had been able to defy the royal arms, and it was some merit in the Earl of Arundel if he contrived to keep pace with the rapidity of their movements, and repress the horrors with which they had so long desolated the borders.^a

The disputes of Henry with his barons, and the proceedings of Leicester's "mad Parliament," are matters of general history. Of the share which the Earl of Arundel individually took in those transactions no record has been preserved: it is known only that he was united with the rebellious nobles in opposition to the king; and that he was the advocate of those measures, through which, under pretence of reforming the abuses of the government, the faction was enabled, during more than two years, to usurp the whole authority of the crown. But Arundel, though he was the enemy of corruption in the commonwealth, was not disposed to become the friend of traitorous ambition in the subject. If, in order to curb the extravagance of the monarch, and free the various offices of state from the foreigners by whom they were monopolized, he combined with his discontented associates in enforcing "the Provisions of Oxford," still, when the necessity for restraining the royal prerogative was removed, and the experience of Henry might be expected to guarantee the observance of the great charter, he was among the first to abandon his opposition, and make an offer of his services to his sovereign. His object was to correct the errors, not to destroy the

^a Paris, 810, 815—819.

power, of the government. Whilst the committee of reform held out a prospect of advantage to the country, he was zealous in its support: but when its chiefs suffered themselves to degenerate into the tools of Leicester, and the ambition of that nobleman seemed to aspire to the supreme authority of the realm, he felt the criminality of adhering to a faction whose designs were rendering it traitorous, and severed himself at once from the confederacy which he had joined. It was in the year 1261 that Henry resolved, if possible, to recover the authority which he had lost. During a space of little less than three years, he had been compelled to act as a mere puppet in the hands of Leicester: his attention, however, had been constantly on the watch for an opportunity of extricating himself; and a bold and decisive measure at length replaced the reins of government in his hands. Before the end of the year, Leicester and his party, though inclined to resist, began to feel the necessity of listening to terms of accommodation. Meetings were held: a form of pacification was drawn up: the rebellious chiefs agreed to abandon the greater part of their demands; and the king undertook to confirm such ordinances as the interests of the nation seemed more immediately to require.^a The terms of this agreement were instantly communicated by Henry to the Earl of Arundel, with a desire that, if he were unable to affix his signature in person to the instrument, he would send his seal for its ratification; and, in the course of a few days, the opportunity was gladly embraced of effecting his reconciliation with the king.^b

1261.

^a Wikes, 55.

^b Rymer I. 411. New Edit. Claus. 46 Hen. 3. m. 18. dors. T. R.

The Earl had now irrevocably chosen his party. During the year 1263, we find him constantly engaged, under the orders of the king, in resisting the aggressions of the Welsh on the English borders:^a he must have been with Henry, when that monarch returned to London in December, after his fruitless attempt to get possession of Dover; and, in the same month, was among the counsellors who, on the part of their royal master, agreed to refer the complaints of the disaffected barons to the arbitration of the French king.^b The award pronounced by Louis was favourable to Henry: but Leicester and his associates, though they had submitted themselves to the judgment of the former, had no intention of yielding to a decision which was hostile to their views; and an appeal to arms, which soon expanded into the horrors of a civil war, was the immediate consequence of their resistance. Arundel, who had been ordered into Wales,^c was forthwith recalled to the support of his sovereign; and, in April 1264, commanded for the king in the castle of Rochester, when Leicester was compelled to raise the siege of that place, on the approach of the royal army.^d On the

apud Merton, xvi. die Decembris. Both Hume and Dr. Lingard, by following Wikes, have dated the pacification between Henry and the barons in April, 1262: but, from the date of this Mandate, it is evident that it must have taken place in the preceding year.

^a Claus. 47 Hen. 3. m. 7 and 15. dors.

^b Rymer I. 433. New Edit. ^c Claus. 48 Hen. 3. m. 6. dors.

^d Leland Collectan. I. 321. Dugdale, citing Leland, says, that the Earl of Arundel was still adhering to the barons against Henry, in 1264, and was with them when Leicester raised the siege of Rochester. This, however, is a mistake. The very passage to which he refers expressly tells us that Arundel was with Roger de Leyburne, who was "Constabularius in castro Roffæ pro Rege." Ibid.

fourteenth of the ensuing month, the battle of Lewes took place. Here also the Earl followed the fortunes of his master: with the defenders of the throne he was to be seen in the thickest of the fight; and, at the termination of that disastrous engagement, found himself, with his sovereign, in the hands of the victorious barons. The treaty distinguished as "the Mise of Lewes" immediately succeeded. The prisoners, with the exception of the two princes, Edward and Henry, were released; and Arundel, among the rest, regained his liberty. But his late defection had rendered him an object of more than ordinary suspicion to the confederates. A security for his future peaceable demeanour was deemed necessary; and the instant surrender of his Castle of Arundel, or the delivery of his son and heir as hostage into the custody of Leicester, was accordingly demanded as the price of his liberation.^a

This is the last transaction of importance in which the Earl appears to have been engaged. He died in the year 1268, and Henry, to testify his gratitude for the services which the deceased had rendered to him, ordered a sum of two hundred pounds, due to the royal exchequer from his estates, to be distributed among the poor for the benefit of his departed soul.^b By his wife, Maud, daughter of Rhys de Verdun, he left one son, John, his successor in the earldom.^c

1268.

^a Paris, 853. Pat. 49 Hen. 3. m. 17.

^b Claus. 52 Hen. 3. m. 7.

^c Esch. 52 Hen. 3. m. 2.

X.

JOHN FITZALAN, SECOND EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

Of John Fitzalan, the only son of the last Earl, the notices that have survived are extremely scanty. He
 1246. was born September the fourteenth, 1246, and, on the
 1268. death of his father, in 1268, succeeded to his titles and
 possessions.^a In December of the same year, he did
 homage to the king for his estates; but was released,
 at the intercession of Roger Mortimer (perhaps the
 father of his wife), from the payment of one half of his
 relief.^b He married Isabel, daughter of Roger, Lord
 Mortimer, by whom he had one son, Richard, his suc-
 1272. cessor. He died on the eighteenth of March, 1272, and
 was buried in the monastery of Haghmon, in Shrop-
 shire, which had been founded by his ancestor, William
 Fitzalan, in the year 1100.^c

^a Esch. 52 Hen. 3. m. 2.

^b Fines 52 Hen. 3. m. 12. Claus. 52 Hen. 3. m. 9. Mr. Dalla-
 way (Rape of Arund. 121. N. Ed.) copying Dugdale, but referring to
 the Escheat Roll, 52 Hen. 3. N^o. 37, says that the Earl paid a relief
 of £100. for Clun and Oswaldestre, and £25. for his fourth share
 of the honour of Arundel. It happens, however, that neither on the
 Escheat Roll, nor on the Fine Roll, which is Dugdale's authority, do
 either these, or any other sums appear.

^c Inq. p. m. 56 Hen. 3. N^o. 36. Vinc. MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467.
 Monast. Ang. II. 46. His wife, Isabel, who survived him several
 years, married, for her second husband, Ralph Arderne (Claus. 4 Ed.
 1. m. 6. in cedul.), and, for her third, Robert de Hastings. The
 latter marriage was celebrated, Sept. 2, 1285, in the parish church of
 Poling: but the Countess had omitted to obtain the royal license, and

XI.

RICHARD FITZALAN, THIRD EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

Richard, the son and successor of the last Earl, was born on the third of February, 1267, and, at the death of his father, therefore, had attained the age of only five years.^a During his minority, the wardship of his person was entrusted to Roger de Mortimer; the custody of

1267.

1272.

a fine of £1000. was consequently levied on her estates (Fitzalan MSS. and Commun. Term. S. Mich. 14 and 15 Ed. 1. rot. 2. dors.). Her dower is set forth in the Close Roll, 56 Hen. 3. m. 4; and partially in Rot. Ragman. An^o. incerto Ed. 1. The following extract from the latter document, though already referred to, is here inserted for the purpose of correcting some mistakes which Mr. Dallaway has committed. “Isabella de Daubiney tenet in dotem hundred^r de Bourne; Matilda de Verdon tenet quatuor hundred^r ratione dotis; et “Isabella de Mortuo Mari tenet unum hundred^r nomine dotis.” On this passage Mr. Dallaway thus remarks:—“From this record it “appears that Isabella, *widow of John Fitzalan, and sister of Hugh de “Albini, Earl of Arundel, remarried to Ranulph Arderne; Maud de “Verdon, widow of John, his son; and Isabella de Mortimer, widow “of Richard his grandson, were all living at the same time,”* (Rape of Arund. 91, note, N. Ed.). It may be sufficient to observe that Isabella, here called “widow of John Fitzalan,” died some years before her husband, who afterwards married, for his second wife, Hawisa de Blancminster (Claus. 24 Hen. 3. m. 11.); that it was Isabella de Mortimer who was wedded to Ranulph Arderne; and that this lady was the widow of *John*, not of *Richard*, Fitzalan. The three dowagers, mentioned in the inquisition, were Isabella, widow of Hugh de Albini, who died in 1282; Maud de Verdon, widow of John, first Earl of his family; and Isabella de Mortimer, widow of John, and mother of Richard, Earls of Arundel.

^a Inq. p. m. 56 Hen. 3. N^o. 36.

his castles and possessions was given successively to his mother, and various other relations.^a

1285. Of the employments which engaged his early years no satisfactory account has been preserved. He is said to have spent a portion of his time in France and Italy, amidst the elegance and chivalry of those countries; and to have returned to England about the nineteenth year of his age, to take his place among the most polished courtiers and bravest knights that adorned the court of Edward the first. The period of his nonage would regularly have expired in February, 1288: he appears, however, to have possessed sufficient interest to procure a curtailment of his wardship, and had certainly obtained livery of his estates before the legal termination of his minority.^b It is not unlikely that the dilapidations which his property had suffered, and which had been made the subject of an inquisition in 1279,^c may have had some share in inducing the king to concede this indulgence: at all events, the Earl received a grant of a fair at Arundel so early as 1285;^d he was most pro-

^a “Robertus Aquilon custos honoris de Arundell,” (Claus. 1 Ed. 1. p. 1. m. 2.). “Willelmus de Eure, nuper custos castri et manerii de Arundell” (Claus. 4 Ed. 1. Rot. 4.). “Rex 25^o. Martii commisit “Emerico de Cancellis castrum et boscum de Arundell, cum pertinentiis, “custodiend’ quamdiu Regi placuerit. Henricus de Newburgh nuper “habuit eandem custodiam” (Pat. 7 Ed. 1. m. 21.). “Castrum et “honor de Arundell commiss’ Isabellæ, quæ fuit uxor Joannis Filio “Alani” (Fines, 8 Ed. 1. m. 9.). “Willelmus de Heure habuit “custodiam castri et honoris Arundell” (Commun. de Term. Mich. 9 Ed. 1.). “Edmundus de Mortimer custos castri et honoris Arund.” (Pat. 10 Ed. 1. m. 8.). The Escheat, 2 Ed. 1. N^o. 61. gives the wardship of his person to Roger de Mortimer.

^b Abb. Plac. 217. Sussex.

^c Inter Plac. de Assis. 7 Ed. 1.

^d Cart. 13 Ed. 1. m. 7. N^o. 37.

bably in full possession of the Castle and honour of Arundel at that period; and, before the end of the year 1287, had been twice summoned to assist, either in person or by his tenants, in crushing the rebellion of Rees ap Meredith, in Wales.^a But that chieftain, though discomfited in the first campaign, was not subdued. Undismayed by the fate which had already overtaken Llewelin and his brother, David, or presuming on impunity from the absence of Edward, who was still in France, the following year again beheld him in arms; and the Earl of Arundel was once more ordered to march with his retainers against him.^b The result of the expedition decided the fate of the Welsh leader; yet the spirit of the natives was not quelled, and, though six years elapsed before it again manifested itself, the smouldering flame was silently but steadily advancing, till it at length burst forth in another insurrection.

The interval, however, might have been one of repose to the Earl of Arundel: but it was disturbed, first by the early bereavement which he suffered in the death of his Countess, and afterwards by one of those strange disputes, which, during the middle ages, too often contributed to derogate from the sanctity of religion, and expose the character of her ministers to reproach. Perhaps, indeed, the power, which, in the feudal periods of our history, was enjoyed by the higher orders of the clergy, offered the only effectual restraint which could have been imposed on the lawless barbarity, and unsparing violence of the age; and it may be that the

^a Palsgrave's Parliamentary Writs, 251. Rot. Walliæ, 15 Ed. 1. m. 8. dors.

^b Palsgrave, 255.

^c Walsingham, Hist. 57. Ypod. Neust. 476.

good effects which were produced by the influence of men, whose office invested them with an air of sanctity, and whose dispositions generally led them to enforce the mild and peaceful maxims of the Gospel, were far more than sufficient to counterbalance the evils which occasionally resulted from the system. Yet it must be acknowledged that the exercise of this power not unfrequently degenerated into abuse. The pride or the selfishness of human nature would, at times, step in to divert it from its legitimate objects; and the thunders of religion, though intended only for the spiritual correction of her children, were in many instances employed for the sole purpose of promoting the temporal views—the interests, and the ambition, and the resentments, of her ministers. Of this character were some of the occurrences, which the reader has already had occasion to remark in connexion with the Forest of Arundel: of a similar nature was the transaction, which at this period contributed to embitter the affliction, in which the recent death of his Countess had involved the Earl. It was in the course of the summer, 1292, that Arundel, in pursuit of his amusement, had strayed with his dogs into one of the chases belonging to the forest of Houghton. Here he was met by a forester, who, on the part of Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester, informed him that he was trespassing: but he refused to acknowledge the exclusive right of the prelate; the offence was a second time repeated; and information of the circumstance was immediately laid before the bishop. The latter, instead of adopting the amicable method of personal expostulation, resolved to adopt a more pompous and authoritative course of pro-

ceeding, in order to vindicate his claim. He despatched a deputation of his clergy to call the refractory nobleman to account. The treasurer, and three of the canons of his cathedral, with the rectors of Heyshot and Ford, waited on the Earl, at Arundel: they spoke of the injury he had committed: they denounced his presumption, in daring to violate the rights of the church; and they concluded by demanding not only an assurance of future respect to those rights, but a promise of instant satisfaction for the trespass of which he had already been guilty. It will scarcely surprise the reader to learn that the insolence of this address was treated with the contempt which it deserved: but the bishop had no objection to enforce obedience by the spiritual weapons which he possessed; and a sentence of greater excommunication was forthwith pronounced against the Earl. Unfortunately for the bishop, his opponent was not so easily terrified as had, perhaps, been expected. Though the censure, which had already been issued, ordered him to be avoided by his neighbours, yet Arundel, during several months, continued to bid defiance to the anger of his clerical persecutor. The inconveniences which resulted from his situation were personal to himself; and, so long as others were secure from the consequences of his resistance, he appears to have entertained little anxiety for the termination of the contest. It is painful to reflect on what followed. The bishop, irritated at the contumacy of the Earl, determined to resort to extreme measures. The sentence of excommunication was followed by that of interdict upon all the possessions of the earldom within his diocese. The churches were closed; the public offices of religion were

suspended; the sacraments, save only to infants and the dying, were forbidden to be administered; and the very dead were excluded from sepulture within the hallowed precincts of the burial grounds. The consequences of farther resistance were too serious to be hazarded. The respect for religion, which the bishop appears to have discarded, was at least cherished by his opponent: he shrunk from the thought of involving a whole district in the punishment of a personal quarrel; and the sentence was scarcely allowed to take effect, before a message from the Earl informed the prelate of his submission. The latter was sojourning in his castle at Amberley: but he consented to meet the Earl in the church of Houghton, and there receive from him in person the acknowledgment of his offence, and the promise of his future amendment. On the twenty-fourth of December, 1292, the parties met, each accompanied by a small number of his more confidential dependants. Arundel begged pardon for his transgression, and swore to obey the reasonable injunctions of the bishop: the bishop pronounced the sentence of absolution, and imposed a fast of three days, with a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Richard, at Chichester, as a penance on the delinquent; and the dispute, which had threatened the most serious results, was terminated by the triumph of the churchman over one of the most powerful nobles of the land.^a

From this period to the autumn of 1294, no record has been preserved of the employments of the Earl.

^a From a copy of Bishop Rede's Register, taken in 1365, and belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Chichester, f. 191.

The register, indeed, which describes his contest with the bishop, assigns his anxiety to join the army as the reason of his ultimate submission:^a but the Scottish war had not commenced; the rupture with France had not yet taken place; and it is most probable, therefore, that the interval was spent in the retirement of his family, and in that seclusion to which the death of his Countess would not unnaturally incline him. The rebellion of the Welsh, however, under Madoc, a prince of the royal line of Llewelin, at length summoned him from this repose. Having burnt the town of Carnarvon, the insurgents had proceeded to attack the castle of Bere, which had formerly belonged to the native princes of the country. It was a strong fortress situated in the midst of a morass: and, as its position rendered its preservation an object of paramount importance, Arundel received orders to hasten to its relief.^b At the head of a small force he marched against the assailants: the enemy was speedily routed; and the submission of Madoc, with the capture of the other chieftains, which soon after followed, completed the conquest of Wales.^c As the reward of his services, he obtained a remission of the tenth, which, in the same year, the king was permitted to levy on the goods of the laity throughout the kingdom.^d

1294.

1295.

The wars in Guienne succeeded immediately to the disturbances in Wales. Edward himself, indeed, had been in the act of embarking for the recovery of his

^a "Milites secuturus." Ibid.

^b Wals. 62. Rot. Walliæ, 22 Ed. 1. m. 1. dors.

^c Ypod. Neust. 482.

^d Commun. de Term. Mich. 23 et 24 Ed. 1. Rot. 13.

transmarine dominions, when the rebellion of Madoc compelled him to defer the expedition: but he had no sooner suppressed the revolutionary movement which threatened him within the island, than his attention was again turned to the object of his foreign policy; and Arundel, amongst others, was, in October, 1295, desired to prepare for service on the continent.^a The force which he was to join was ordered to assemble at Plymouth, on the first of November, under the command of Edmund, the king's brother: some delay, however, seems to have occurred, and January had arrived before the troops were ready to embark. At length Arundel and his companions set sail. In the course of a few days, they landed in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux; and, during the remainder of the year, the Earl appears, from the absence of his name in the parliamentary writs, to have remained with the army in Guienne.^b In February, 1297, he was at Salisbury, where he attended the parliament, in which the discontent of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk first betrayed itself: but, in July, he received orders to accompany his royal master to the continent; and most probably was in the train of that monarch, when he landed in Flanders in the following

^a Claus. 23. Ed. 1. m. 3. dors.

^b Walsing. 65. Sir Harris Nicolas, in the memoir which he has appended to the "Siege of Caerlavarock," and which is borrowed in the new edition of Mr. Dallaway's Rape of Arundel, says, that the Earl was summoned to every parliament from the twenty-third to the twenty-ninth of Edward the first: but his name certainly does not occur in any of the writs issued from the first of October, 1295 (23 Ed. 1.), when he is omitted, to the first of January, 1297 (25 Ed. 1.), when he again appears in the summonses.

month.^a He was again, however, recalled to England before the end of September, for the purpose of assisting by his counsels and his arms in the conduct of the Scottish war.^b

The reign of the first Edward claims a melancholy distinction in the annals of Scottish independence. From the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the elevation of Baliol to the throne, the English monarch had acquired a species of paramount authority, which it was impossible to support for any lengthened period without recourse to arms. The pride, however, of England was interested in the question, and, in the numerous expeditions, which crossed the northern borders to assert the pretensions of Edward, the flower of her nobility flocked round the standard of the prince, and eagerly joined in the endeavour to crush the freedom of the neighbouring kingdom. Among the first of these was the Earl of Arundel. He had already, in obedience to the injunctions of the Regent, joined the army at Newcastle,^c when Edward himself, alarmed at the successes of Wallace, landed at Sandwich, and, hastening to York, summoned the whole military force of the kingdom to meet him in that city.^d The Earl willingly obeyed the mandate. From York he accompanied the royal army to Roxburgh: fought, with his retainers, at

1298.

^a Claus. 25 Ed. 1. m. 15 et 25. dors. Trivet, 304.

^b Claus. ib. m. 6. ^c Ibid. m. 28.

^d Claus. 26 Ed. 1. m. 12. cedul. dors. Trivet and the old historians say that he summoned a *Parliament* at York: but the words of the writ clearly contradict this: “firmiter injungendo quatinus cum equis et armis sitis ad nos apud Eboracum, prompti et parati exinde nobiscum proficisci ad partes Scotiæ prædictas.”

the decisive battle of Falkirk; and, in the event of that sanguinary conflict, beheld the extinction of the momentary gleam which Wallace had shed on the destinies of Scotland.^a In September, Edward returned to England, and the army was disbanded: but he intended to renew his operations in the following summer, and Arundel was again ordered to meet him at Carlisle, with whatever strength he could collect, on the sixth of June, 1299.^b Various causes, however, detained the king in the south till November, when another writ commanded the Earl to attend him at York.^c At length, when the army reached Berwick, it was found that the season was too far advanced for the objects of the expedition: the troops were a second time dismissed; and Arundel was once more enjoined to appear with horse and arms at Carlisle in the following June.^d Amongst the operations that ensued was the siege of Caerlavarock, the details of which were celebrated by a minstrel, who thus describes the Earl of Arundel.

“ Richard, the Earl of Arundel,
 “ A well-beloved and handsome knight,
 “ In crimson surcoat marked I well,
 “ With gold of rampant lion dight.”^e

It was whilst the royal army lay encamped before

^a Rot. Scot. 26 Ed. 1. m. 9. Hemingford, 159—165. Trivet, 313.

^b Claus. 26 Ed. 1. m. 6 et 7. dors.

^c Claus. 27 Ed. 1. m. 9, 12, 14. dors.

^d Claus. 28 Ed. 1. m. 16. dors.

^e Richard le conte de Aroundel,
 Beau chivalier et bien amé,
 I vi je richement armé
 En rouge au lyon rampant de or.

Siege of Caerlavarock, Edited by Nicolas, p. 50.

Caerlavarock, that Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, arrived with a letter from Pope Boniface, which he was commanded to deliver to Edward. The history and object of that extraordinary document are well known. Edward, before he returned an answer, resolved to submit it to the consideration of his own advisers: a truce was hastily concluded with the Scots: a parliament was convened to discuss the matter at Lincoln, in the following February; and Arundel, among the rest of the barons, affixed his seal and signature to a reply, which must have convinced the pontiff of the vanity of any attempt to interfere in the temporal concerns of the kingdom.^a In May, the truce expired; and both parties prepared for the renewal of hostilities. The Earl was again summoned with his retainers to Carlisle: on the twenty-fourth of June, he was joined by the Prince of Wales, at the head of an immense force; and, during the remainder of the year, was employed in the harassing and unsatisfactory duty which continued to engage the army.^b 1301.

This must have been his last public service. He died in the beginning of the following year, 1302, the thirty-seventh of his age, and was buried with his ancestors.^c During his residence abroad, he married Alisona, daughter of the Marquis of Saluzzo, in Piedmont, by whom he left issue, two sons, Edmund, his successor, and John, a clergyman, who was recommended to the Pope for preferment by Edward the 1302.

^a First Peerage Rep. Append. N^o. 1. p. 125.

^b Claus. 29 Ed. 1. m. 16. dors. Trivet, 331.

^c Inq. p. m. 30 Ed. 1. N^o. 30.

second;^a and two daughters, Maud, wife of Philip, Lord Burnel, and Margaret, married to William, Baron Boteler of Wem. His countess died September the twenty-fifth, 1292, and was buried in the Priory of Totingham.^b

XII.

EDMUND FITZALAN, FOURTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

1285. Edmund Fitzalan was born in the castle of Marlborough, on the first of May, 1285, and was not yet seventeen years of age when he succeeded to the title of his father.^c Deprived of the protection of his parent, the guardianship both of his person and estates devolved, under the provisions of the feudal system, on the king: but the monarch was not unwilling, either for interest or affection, to transfer the duties and the profits of his charge to another; and the wardship of the young nobleman was, consequently, committed to John, Earl of Surrey. The connexion thus formed was soon improved to establish a closer alliance between the families of Warren and Fitzalan. Surrey was already a grandfather. Alice, the daughter of his son William,

^a Rot. Rom. 13 Ed. 2. m. 7. dors. He appears, however, to have received only the minor orders, and to have subsequently abandoned the clerical profession. He married, and lived as late as 1379, in which year his will is dated. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 105.

^b Vincent, MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467.

^c Compare Esch. 30. Ed. 1. N^o. 30, with Inquis. capt. apud Chip-ping Norton, 22 Junii, 30. Ed. 1. See also Vincent, MS. Ashm. 8467.

was about the same age as his ward; the acquaintance, which had originated in the domestic intercourse of the young people, speedily ripened into affection; and, in the year 1305, the Earl of Arundel was solemnly united to the object of his regard.^a In the following year his minority expired, and, with the livery of his lands which he then obtained, he received also a large portion of the profits which had arisen from his estates during his nonage.^b

From the settlement of Scotland, in the early part of the year 1305, that country had remained in a state of comparative tranquillity: the murder of Comyn, in February, 1306, and the coronation of Robert Bruce, which immediately followed, again called the armies of England into the field. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the king's lieutenant in the north, was forthwith ordered to put his troops in motion; and prince Edward, with two hundred and sixty-seven of the youthful nobility of the kingdom, was summoned to London to receive the honour of knighthood. The Earl of Arundel was amongst the number. The youths were received with affection by the aged monarch: for those who were unable to find accommodation in the palace, tents were erected in the gardens of the Temple: garments of fine linen, and mantles of purple and gold were distributed from the royal wardrobe, for the decoration of the young aspirants: Arundel, in company with the prince and some of the more distinguished nobles, performed his vigils in the church of Westminster, the rest in that of the Temple; and the sound of trum-

^a Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467.

^b Commun. Term. Mich. 35 Ed. 1. Rot. 12. dors.

May 22.

pets and the acclamations of the people mingled with the voice of religion, and rose with the midnight chantings of the two choirs. In the hall of the palace Edward, on the following morning, conferred the order of knighthood on his son: thence the crowd of nobles repaired to the neighbouring abbey, where the young prince imparted to each in succession the same honour. A sumptuous banquet followed: the father vowed that he would avenge the death of Comyn; the son swore that he would execute the commands and wishes of his father; the rest applauded the determination, and engaged to support him in the enterprise. The next morning beheld Arundel and his companions on their way to join the army at Carlisle.^a

The disasters of Bruce, and the successes which attended the English arms, during the summer of 1306, are generally known. Of the glory acquired in that unequal contest Arundel obtained his fair proportion. He was present with the army in all its operations, signaled himself in the victory of Methven, and saw Bruce driven from the land which he had aspired to govern, to seek an uncertain refuge in a distant island. But the latter, though defeated, was not subdued. He had retreated, only to return on the first opportunity; and Edward aware of the efforts which he would still make for the recovery of his throne, determined, by crushing the power of the nation, to render it unable to assist him. Through weakness the English monarch had hitherto been confined to the neighbourhood of

^a Westminster, 454. Ashmole, Hist. of Gart. 37. Anstis, Observations on the knighthood of the Bath, p. 21, and Append. N^o. 13. Rot. Scot. 34 Ed. 1. m. 11.

Carlisle. Here he passed the christmas ; and, in January, met the parliament which he had summoned in the preceding November. It was the first to which Arundel had been called. He obeyed the mandate of his sovereign ; was present among the barons to offer his advice to the king on the prosecution of the war ; and was still in company with the army, when its progress was suddenly arrested by the death of Edward, in the following July.^a Before his decease, however, that prince had been careful to testify his sense of the Earl's services, by the remission of a debt of £4234. 3s. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d., the arrears of fines and other imposts, which were due from his estate to the royal exchequer.^b

1307.

The accession of Edward the second took place in July : in October, he met his first parliament at Northampton ; and, in January, summoned the nobles of his court to attend at his coronation in the following month. On both occasions Arundel was present : on the former, to assist by his advice in the counsels of the new sovereign ; on the latter, to officiate in his hereditary office of chief Butler, and to carry the coronation robes of the monarch in the ceremony of the procession.^c But the new reign had introduced a strange alteration in the current of events. Edward, immersed in luxury, and intent only on pleasure, had speedily forgotten the dying injunctions of his father : and though, in one or two instances, he either led or despatched his armies across the borders, yet war had but few attractions for his dissipated mind, and the conquests of his predecessor

1308.

^a Claus. 34 Ed. 1. m. 2. dors. Rot. Scot. 34 Ed. 1. m. 11. Stowe, 211.

^b Pat. 35 Ed. 1. m. 14.

^c Claus. 1 Ed. 2. m. 10, 12, 19. dors.

were readily abandoned for the society of his minions, and the profligate revelry of his court. The distrust and opposition which this conduct was calculated to excite in the country, and particularly among the barons, first manifested itself on the occasion of Gaveston's recall from the exile, to which he had been sentenced in the preceding reign. The appointment of that nobleman to the regency during the king's absence in France, and the distinction with which he was treated by Edward at the coronation, completed the disaffection; so that only
 1308. three days later, February the twenty-eighth, 1308, the Earl of Arundel, the Earls of Pembroke, Gloucester, Warwick, and others, assembled in the refectory of the monks at Westminster, and drew up a memorial to the king requesting the immediate banishment of the favourite. Edward hesitated, and promised to return an answer in the ensuing parliament. At the appointed time the Earls attended: their request now assumed the form of a demand; Edward, though unwillingly, was compelled to submit; and a royal patent announced to the people that, by the twenty-fifth of the following June, Gaveston was to abjure the country for ever.^a

1309-10. With the removal of Gaveston Arundel's opposition to his sovereign was at an end; and, in the two following years, we find him either employed in furnishing men for the supply of the royal armies, or personally engaged in military operations against the Scots.^b But Gaveston, though sworn never to return, had already violated his oath. Uninstructed too by past experience, Edward again resumed all his habits of dissipation, whilst

^a Walsing. 96, 97. Trivet Cont. 4, 5.

^b Rot. Scot. 3 Ed. 2. m. 6 et 9. dors. and 4 Ed. 2. m. 8.

the favourite, confiding in the protection of his master, indulged in the same extravagance, and affected the same irritating and supercilious demeanour, which had formerly procured for him the hatred of the nobility. Even the armed interference of Arundel and his friends, and a second sentence of banishment against the minion, had been unable to open the eyes either of him or of his infatuated sovereign to their real situation. Scarcely two months had elapsed before the authority of the ordinance, which had expelled him, was again defied, and those who were congratulating themselves that they had at length rescued the king from the thralldom of his favourite, had the mortification of learning, before christmas, that the latter had already returned to his royal master at York.^a To seize Gaveston became now the object of the barons; and in the association, which was immediately formed for this purpose under the Earl of Lancaster, Arundel willingly united.^b To detail the operations of the next two months were needless. On the capitulation of Scarborough castle, in May, Gaveston fell into the hands of his enemies. He had surrendered, on condition of being reinstated in possession of the castle, if, before the first of August, no accommodation were effected, and was on his way to Wallingford, the place appointed for his confinement, when he was suddenly intercepted by the Earl of Warwick, and hurried off in triumph to Warwick castle. Hither Arundel, with the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, was summoned:^c the confederates sat in deliberation on the fate of the prisoner: the sentence of death, in conformity

^a Rot. Parl. I. 283. Wals. 98, 99.

^b Wals. 100.

^c Dugd. Bar. II. 44. he cites MS. in Bibl. Bodl. K. 84. f. 96^b.

with a provision made at the period of his last banishment, was pronounced upon him ; and, on the nineteenth of June, 1312, he was led forth to Blacklow-hill—since called Gavers-heath, or Gaversike—and there beheaded in the presence of his judges.^a

One great source of contention was now removed, and though the king was at first inclined to indulge in those purposes of revenge, which the murder of his favourite would naturally excite, yet, in the weakness of his temper, and the helplessness of his situation, his resolutions speedily gave way, and it was not long before a reconciliation between himself and the insurgent barons was at least apparently effected. Still, the articles of reform, which had been drawn up by the “ Lords Ordainers,” in 1310, remained to mar the general agreement: and even so late as 1314, when Edward was preparing to march to the disastrous battle of Bannockburn, we find the Earl of Arundel among those who refused to join the expedition, because the king still continued to oppose the execution of the “ Ordinances.”^b This, however, seems to have been his last act of resistance to his sovereign. From this period he became the faithful adherent and firm defender of the royal cause in every emergency ; and, from the constancy with which, even to the shedding of his blood, he henceforth united himself to the fortunes of his prince, he may appear, not unjustly, to claim the praise of patriotism in his former hostility to the pernicious influence of Gaveston. Of the means, indeed, by which this desirable change was produced we have no account. By Edward, however, its importance was duly estimated. He felt

^a Rymer III. 324. Wals. 101. Trivet Cont. 9. ^b Wals. 104.

the weight which his party must necessarily derive from the accession of so powerful an adherent; and he resolved, by marks of confidence and affection, to secure the attachment of his new supporter. In 1316, Arundel was appointed lieutenant to the king, and commander general from the Trent northwards to Roxburgh.^a In the following year, he was summoned to military duty beyond the borders, and charged with providing a body of two hundred foot soldiers for the service. The Scottish king had just sailed to the assistance of his brother in Ulster: his absence suggested to Edward the possibility of recovering his lost authority in Scotland; and preparations were immediately made for a descent upon the Scottish territory. But the refusal of many of the barons to attend the king frustrated all his plans: the invasion was converted into a few predatory incursions; and Edward returned, only to encourage the Scots, by his failure, to bolder and more extensive inroads than they had hitherto attempted.^b To these, however, Arundel constantly opposed such forces as he could collect. During the whole of the year 1318, he was in arms to repel their aggressions: in the following summer, he was with the army at the siege of Berwick: nor was it until deserted by Lancaster, and distracted by the dissensions of the camp, that, with his sovereign, he consented to raise the siege, and listen to terms of accommodation.^c

But events of nearer and more immediate importance were pressing on the attention of the Earl and his royal

^a Rot. Scot. 10 Ed. 2. m. 5. N^o. 11 and 12.

^b Claus. 11 Ed. 2. m. 23. Scala Chron. apud Leland, Collect. II. 547.

^c Rot. Scot. 12 Ed. 2. m. 13. and 13 Ed. 2. m. 3. Wals. 112.

master. On the fall of Gaveston, Hugh Spencer the younger had succeeded to the affections of the king, and to the consequent hatred of many of the great nobles of the court. A circumstance of private resentment on the part of John de Mowbray at length blew the smouldering antipathies into a flame: the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, the lords of the Western Marches, and upwards of thirty barons and knights were instantly in arms; and marching to Westminster, where the parliament was sitting, filled the hall with soldiers, and demanded the immediate banishment of the two Spencers, father and son. Surrounded by the swords of their enemies, the king and the barons of his party had no alternative but to submit. Arundel, as well as the others, though firm in his adherence to his sovereign, was compelled to yield to the necessity of the moment; and a sentence of banishment against the obnoxious favourites was immediately, though unwillingly, recorded.^a

But the treason of a Kentish baron, named Badlesmere, soon afforded the monarch an opportunity of revenging the insult which had been offered to his authority; and his friends, encouraged by the vigour of his proceedings, came forward in crowds with proffers of their attachment and their services. The Spencers returned to England: their cause was referred to the prelates, who had already protested against their banishment, and who now requested the repeal of the sentence: Arundel, with the Earls of Kent, Richmond, and Pembroke, declared that he had assented to it through fear, and united in the prayer of the bishops; and the king,

^a Rot. Parl. III. 361—365. Wals. 113, 114.

availing himself of these entreaties, gladly received the exiles to his protection.^a

Edward now felt the necessity of supporting his authority by arms. It was evident that Lancaster and his associates, who had already manifested their treasonable determination in the expulsion of the Spencers, would not easily submit to the power which had sanctioned their return. The lords of the marches had already commenced hostilities: the city of Gloucester had surrendered to their forces; and they were preparing to extend their ravages through the neighbouring country. Summoning his military tenants therefore, the king hastened to repress their violence; and Arundel was ordered to attend him. With his sovereign he left London in December; marched to Gloucester, Bridgenorth, and Tickhill, which he assisted in rescuing from the insurgents; and was in pursuit of Lancaster, who had retreated towards the north, when intelligence was brought of the victory at Boroughbridge, and the capture of that nobleman by Sir Andrew Harclay. The royal forces were then at Pontefract. Hither the prisoner was conducted: a court was formed for his immediate arraignment; and Arundel was appointed one of the judges on the trial.^b The execution of Lancaster terminated the campaign. Arundel returned to London, and, having received from the gratitude of his master a grant of many of the forfeited estates of Badlesmere, Mowbray, Roger, Lord Mortimer, and others,^c was, in

1322.

^a Rot. Parl. III. 362. Wals. 114, 115.

^b Rymer III. 927—939. Wals. 115, 116. Hollinsh. II. 564, 568. Edit. 1807.

^c Cart. 15 Ed. 2. m. 5. N^o. 18. Pat. 15 Ed. 2. m. 1. n. 4. Pat. 16 Ed. 2. p. 1. m. 24, 33.

1323. June, 1323, constituted chief justiciary both of North and South Wales.^a

It was the fate of Edward's friendship to place a mark of destruction on its objects; and it is not unlikely that the favours, which were now bestowed on the Earl of Arundel, were quite as conducive to his subsequent murder, as the attachment which he continued to manifest to the cause of his injured sovereign. The king probably imagined that, with the death of Lancaster, his domestic troubles were at an end. Hereford had been slain at Boroughbridge; the other chiefs of the rebellion had been secured; and leisure was once more afforded him for turning his attention to the Scottish war. In that fruitless and inglorious struggle Arundel was his constant attendant.^b He was his counsellor also in the various negotiations which ensued, concerning the duchy of Guienne;^c and was present at all the deliberations which the restless efforts of the Lancastrian party still continued to render necessary.^d But the hour of his destruction was rapidly approaching. Among the captives of the late rebellion, whose lives had been spared by the clemency of the king, was Roger, Lord Mortimer, of Wigmore. He had been imprisoned in the Tower; had contrived to effect his escape into France; and had there succeeded in alienating the affections of the queen from her husband, and engaging her in the treasonable designs which he was maturing.

1326. On the twenty-fourth of September, 1326, that princess

^a Claus. 16 Ed. 2. m. 2.

^b Claus. 16 Ed. 2. m. 9, 11, 13, 18, 20, 26. dors.

^c Rot. Vasc. 18 Ed. 2. m. 4, 13, 21, 28, dors.

^d Claus. 17, 18, 19, Ed. 2. passim.

landed on the coast of Suffolk, at the head of a numerous force. Her object was to effect the dethronement of her husband. The king's brother, the Earl of Kent, his cousin, the Earl of Richmond, the Lord Beaumont, and the Bishop of Norwich immediately joined the invading army; and almost all the powerful barons of the country successively ranged themselves under her standard. The Earl of Arundel was one of the few who preserved their fidelity to the king. In company with that unhappy prince, he proceeded first to Bristol, and afterwards to the Welsh coast, where an attempt was made to raise the men of Glamorgan. But the experiment failed, and the fugitives were compelled to separate. Edward, with the younger Spencer, embarked for the Isle of Lundy: Arundel hastened into Shropshire, and endeavoured to collect his retainers. In the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, however, he was met by a party of the rebel soldiers, under the command of John, Lord Charlton, and, after a fruitless effort of resistance, was secured and conducted to the queen at Hereford. His fate was instantly decided. He was accused of having married his son to the daughter of the younger Spencer, of having injured the queen by his counsels during her absence in France, and of having "procured the death" of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster; and, upon these charges, without even the ceremony of a trial, he was adjudged to forfeit his life, and ordered to immediate execution. He was beheaded at Hereford, on the seventeenth of November, 1326, in the forty-second year of his age.^a By a subsequent attainder, his

^a Compare Froissart (I. cap. xi. and xii. Berners' Transl.) with Knyghton, 2546, Murimuth, 68, Wals. 125, T. de la Moor, 600, and

lands and castles escheated to the crown. The estates in Shropshire and Wales were given to Mortimer; the town and Castle of Arundel, with their appurtenances, were bestowed on the Earl of Kent. For his widow the only provision that was made was an annuity of five hundred marks, payable from the manors of Fairford and Caversham, in Oxfordshire, which had belonged to Hugh Spencer the younger. This property, however, was afterwards restored to the relict of Spencer, and a sum of £400. per annum, issuing from the feefarm rents of the city of London, and of the counties of Surrey and Sussex, was assigned to the Countess "for the support of herself and her children."^a

The Earl, by his marriage with Alice, sister, and ultimately heir, to John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, left two sons and two daughters. Richard, the eldest, was his successor in the earldom; Edmund was intended for the church, but forsook the profession; Alice was married to John de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex; and Jane became the wife of Warren Gerrard, Lord Lisle.^b

Leland, Collect. II. 468. From the first of these writers it is clear that Arundel accompanied the king in the first part of his flight: from the united testimony of the others it is certain that his execution took place at Hereford.

^a Rot. Parl. II. 56. Pat. 1 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 13: 2 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 3: and 4 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 42.

^b Dudg. Bar. I. 316. and Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467. Of Edmund we have several notices in the Rolls, from which it appears that he was in considerable favour with Edward the third. In 1340, that monarch wrote to the Pope, recommending him to the notice of the holy see for preferment (Rot. Rom. 14 Ed. 3. m. 3.): in 1352, he invested him with the honour of knighthood (Vinc. ut sup.): in 1358, he conferred on him the manor of Melbury Bubbe (Pat. 32 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 35.); and in 1364, made him a grant of land and other possessions in

XIII.

RICHARD FITZALAN, FIFTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

This celebrated nobleman was one of the most distinguished warriors and statesmen that adorned the military age of Edward the third. The history of his life is the history of the splendid era in which he lived. To describe the transactions in which he was engaged, were to describe the battles and the sieges, the embassies and the negotiations, which thronged the busiest and the brightest period of our annals. In the council and the field, on the deck of his war-ship and the plain of Creci, his talents and his prowess were alike displayed; and, during the lengthened space of nearly forty years, scarce an event of importance seems to have occurred, in which the interests of the country were not indebted to his zeal. Of the employments of such a person a detailed account belongs to the general historian: the passing biographer can only stop to offer an outline of their description. If he simply trace his subject along

Devonshire (Pat. 38 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 14.). It has been said that there was another son, John, a clergyman, recommended, like Edmund, to the notice of the Pope: and his existence has been attempted to be established by a reference to the Patent roll, 13 Ed. 2. m. 7. dors. But the person mentioned in that document, for whom clerical preferment was solicited from the Pope, was evidently the *brother*, not the *son*, of Earl Edmund. In the thirteenth of Edward the second (1319-20), the latter himself was only in his thirty-fifth year: he had been married but fourteen years; and John, if he were his third, or even his second, son, could not then have been more than twelve years of age.

the luminous path which he pursued, he will probably have accomplished as much as the reader can expect.

1306. Richard Fitzalan was the eldest son of Edmund, the last Earl, and was probably born about the year 1306. He had scarcely attained his sixteenth year, when he was induced, by the policy of his father, to seek the hand of Isabel, the daughter of the younger Spencer, in marriage: the wedding was celebrated in the beginning of 1321. and an ample provision of lands and manors, in Buckingham and Wilts, was settled by the father of the bridegroom on the young couple.^a The union, however, was unfortunate. The reader has already seen that it was made the subject of accusation against Earl Edmund, at the time of his execution: after the death of that nobleman, the connexion still continued to render his surviving son obnoxious to the vengeance of his enemies: the youthful heir of Arundel was pursued by the same hatred which had already accomplished the destruction of his parent; and the very lands, which had been conveyed to him in course of law at the period of his marriage, were included in his father's property, and swept away in the general forfeiture. It was in vain that the sufferer and his wife appealed to the 1328. tribunals of the country for redress. The influence of their persecutors was paramount in the courts. The grant of the king was triumphantly pleaded by the Earl of Kent, who had obtained the estates; and Fitzalan, during the remaining period of Mortimer's ascendancy, was thrown for subsistence on the precarious bounty of his friends.^b

^a Pat. 14 Ed. 2. m. 22.

^b Placit. in Term. Mich. 2 Ed. 3. rot. 107. Wilts et Bucks.

But the murder of the dethroned king, and the subsequent execution of the Earl of Kent, had already begun to awaken suspicions in the mind of the young Edward, as to the integrity of the motives which influenced his advisers. He sought the confidence of more disinterested friends. To these he disclosed his feelings: and the consequence was the arrest and execution of Mortimer, the imprisonment of the queen mother, and the death or banishment of most of their accomplices in the late transactions. This revolution encouraged Fitzalan to seek the recovery of his inheritance. On the twelfth of December, 1330, he presented a petition to the parliament then sitting at Westminster, complaining of the irregularity of the sentence pronounced upon his father, and praying, as of right, to be reinstated in his possessions. The informality of the petition caused it, in the first instance, to be rejected: but he was ordered to amend its prayer: he solicited the restoration of his property as an act of grace; and an award was immediately passed for the restitution of the whole of the patrimonial estates of his family.^a It was not, however, until the following year that he obtained livery of Arundel. After the attainder of the Earl of Kent, it had been

1330.

1331.

Hollinshed, who is followed by Vincent, says (II. 599.) that Fitzalan, during this period, retired, with Wake, Beaumont, and the other exiles, to the continent; and refers for his authority to Murimuth. It so happens, however, that Murimuth never once mentions his name in connexion with the exiles: but he speaks of the "Earl of *Athol*" as among their number; and it is not improbable that Hollinshed may have mistaken this for *Arundel*. See Murim. 79.

^a Rot. Parl. II. 56. Pat. 4 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 12. This was confirmed in 1351, and again in 1354. Rot. Parl. II. 226, 256.

granted to the family of that nobleman, and settled in dower on his surviving widow : but, in December, 1331, other lands were assigned to the countess in exchange ; and the Earl of Arundel, who now for the first time assumed the title, entered on possession.^a At the same time, he procured a charter for free-warren on his estates in Wiltshire :^b and, in 1334, a grant of Chirk castle, with its appendant manors, which had been forfeited by Mortimer, and of which he had been appointed governour in the preceding year, completed this measure of justice, and evinced the esteem in which his sovereign was disposed to hold him.^c

Arundel now embarked at once in public life. His first employment of importance was that of justiciary of North Wales, which he obtained in December, 1334 :^d in the ensuing year, South Wales was placed under his judicial authority :^e and, at the same period, he was constituted governour of Porchester castle.^f Nor were his services confined to these more peaceful or less active occupations. In the various expeditions which Edward, during the present and two following years, found it necessary to furnish for the support of Edward Baliol, in Scotland, the name of the Earl of Arundel invariably occurs. In some he had the principal command : in others he served under the king : and in all secured to himself the double praise of bravery and skill.^g In

^a Rot. Parl. II. 56. 445. Pat. 5 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 25. and p. 2. m. 3. Claus. ejusd. m. 25. intus. Vincent. MS. Ashm. 8467.

^b Cart. 5 Ed. 3. m. 1. N^o. 2.

^c Fines, 7 Ed. 3. m. 6. Cart. 8 Ed. 3. m. 5. N^o. 11.

^d Pat. 8 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 11. ^e Original, 9 Ed. 3. rot. 2.

^f Fines, 9 Ed. 3. m. 20. ^g Dugd. Bar. 1. 317. Murimuth, 88.

March, 1337, the office of justiciary in North Wales, which he had hitherto held at pleasure, was confirmed to him for the term of his natural life :^a in the beginning of the succeeding year, he was engaged, in his military capacity, for more than three months, in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the fortress of Dunbar :^b and, in 1339, was called to resist the aggressions of a foreign enemy in the south. It was in the preceding year that Edward, to revenge his quarrel with Philip of Valois, had led an immense army into the French territory : while the latter, in order to retaliate on his adversary, had fitted out a numerous fleet for the annoyance of the English commerce in the channel. During several months, the ravages of the hostile squadron had continued to spread alarm and desolation along the southern coasts. The narrow seas had been swept from end to end : the finest vessels in the English service had been successively captured : Dover, Winchelsea, Hastings, Rye, and other ports had been menaced by the enemy ; and Southampton itself had at length been surprised and pillaged by the daring invaders. Such was the

^a Pat. 11 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 18. In 1336, he was engaged in a curious transaction : it was nothing less than the sale of the stewardship of Scotland to Edward the third, for a sum of one thousand marks,—a sale which was immediately confirmed by Edward Baliol. (Pat. 10 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 10.). The office of Grand Steward is said, in the Patent, to have belonged to him by “ hereditary right :” but how this could have been the fact, so long as Robert the Stuart, the direct descendant of Walter, the son of Alan, the first steward, was alive, will not be easily understood. See page 193, ante. Mr. Dallaway, omitting the word “ nobis” in the Patent, makes Baliol confirm the stewardship to the Earl, instead of to Edward. Rape of Arund. 125. New Edit. ^b Knyghton, 2570.

emergency in which Arundel was summoned to defend his country, on an element to which he had hitherto been a stranger. When parliament met, in January, 1339, measures were immediately adopted for repressing the insolence of the assailants. The principal merchants of the country were required to attend at Westminster, and give evidence as to the extent of the danger: the mariners of the Cinque Ports were directed to commission their vessels for sea; and a numerous fleet was prepared, to assemble with all possible expedition at Dartmouth. Arundel was appointed to the command, and another fleet was ordered to co-operate with him on the eastern coast. At the beginning of March, he embarked on board the Admiral. In the course of a few weeks, not an enemy was to be seen. Every hostile sail was chased from the channel, and the security of the southern ports was once more established.^a In the same year, he was made governour of Carnarvon castle.^b

But it was not to the insular precincts of his own country, or to the seas that surround her coasts, that his activity and his talents were confined. The brilliancy, which the reign of Edward shed over the military annals of his kingdom, was principally reflected from the plains of France: and in the same fields, upon the same spots, many of the proudest laurels, that have encircled the name of the Earl of Arundel, were won. The fruitless result of the expeditions, with which, in the two preceding years, Edward had endeavoured to assert his claim to the French throne, had neither checked his ambition, nor damped the ardour of his courage. The

^a Froissart, I. cap. 37. 44. Rot. Parl. II. 108.

^b Fines, 13 Ed. 3. m. 10.

nation too indulged the glittering dreams of conquest; parliament poured in its supplies to the royal coffers; and, during the spring of 1340, preparations on the most extensive scale were made for the ensuing campaign. Intelligence, however, was brought, that the French king had assembled a fleet, and intended to intercept the army in its passage. Every disposable vessel was immediately collected in the southern ports; and Arundel, whose commission as admiral had been renewed in the preceding February, was summoned to take charge of the expedition, under the immediate command of the king.^a The reader is acquainted with the details of the engagement which followed off the harbour of Sluys. With the exception of about twenty ships that escaped, the whole fleet of the French was taken or destroyed. Thirty thousand of their men perished in the battle; and so completely was the armament annihilated, that no one dared to communicate the disaster to the French monarch, until his buffoon undertook to hint it to him.^b Arundel, who, as Edward declared in his despatches, had “carried himself loyally and nobly” in the conflict, was immediately sent to England with the intelligence of the victory, and with orders to solicit further supplies from parliament for the prosecution of the war.^c

1340.

It does not appear that the Earl returned to France during the remainder of the campaign.^d In August, 1341,

1341.

^a Rot. Alleman. 14 Ed. 3. m. 19. Vespasian, C. xiv. 2.

^b Froiss. I. c. 50. Knyght. 2577, 2578. The buffoon called the English “cowards:”—“Why so?” demanded Philip:—“Because they had not the courage to leap into the sea, like the French and Normans,” was the reply. Wals. 148. ^c Rot. Parl. II. 118.

^d Hollinshed, indeed, asserts that he marched with Edward from

1342. he was in London, where he attended the splendid festival, which Edward celebrated in honour of the Countess of Salisbury:^a and, early in the following year, was appointed warden of the Scottish borders, in conjunction with the Earl of Huntingdon.^b The truce, however, which was soon after concluded with Scotland, enabled him once more to accompany his sovereign to the continent. The claim of John de Montfort to the dukedom of Bretagne had already summoned the armies of Edward into that province. In October, the monarch followed in person; and the siege of Vannes, which was carried on simultaneously with those of Nantes and Rennes, was entrusted to the conduct of the Earl of Arundel.^c Before the reduction of the fortress, however, the mediation of Pope Clement prevailed on Edward to acquiesce in an armistice of three years and eight months. The friendly offices of the pontiff were to be employed, during that interval, in accommodating the differences between the English and French crowns: the troops were disbanded, and Arundel returned to England.^d But neither party was willing to abide by the terms of the agreement. Each upbraided the other with the violation of its provisions, while each was employed only in preparing for more effective annoyance to his opponent. At length

1343. hostilities were proclaimed, and the Earls of Arundel and Derby, who had just returned from a joint embassy to Ghent to Tournay, and was present at the siege of that town. But, besides that this account is contradicted by the fact of his return to England with the king's despatches, Hollinshed himself professes to copy Froissart in this passage, who, however, without naming any one, merely says that Edward had "seven Earls" in his company. Hollinsh. II. 616. Froiss. I. c. 53. ^a Froiss. I. c. 89.

1344.

^b Knyght. 2581. ^c Froiss. I. c. 94, 95. ^d Rymer, v. 357. 366.

Alphonsus, king of Castile,^a were ordered to proceed with a powerful army to open the campaign in Guienne.^b To detail the operations that ensued would weary the attention of the reader. The places which had been lost, during the former part of the war, were quickly recovered: fortress after fortress surrendered to the arms of the conquerors: thousands of the enemy were in some instances annihilated by a few hundreds of the invaders; and fortune at length seemed to promise the total reduction of the French power. Arundel, however, remained not with the army through the whole of its victorious career. An unfortunate passion was already diverting him from his more honourable pursuits; and he embarked for England, in 1345, to fix on his character the only stain, which, in the course of a long life, it is known to have contracted.

1345.

It was now twenty-four years since his marriage with Isabel de Spencer had been publicly solemnized. During that period, she had borne him one daughter: he had constantly acknowledged her as his chosen wife: had joined with her in a suit at law for the recovery of property settled on them at their marriage; and, in the early part of their union at least, is generally thought to have lived on friendly, if not on affectionate, terms with her. But the charms of Eleanor Beaumont, widow of John Beaumont, and daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, at length withdrew him from her society. With that lady he was led to form an illicit connexion: her attractions or her influence induced him to wish for a more permanent alliance; and he now for the first time discovered that, in the engagements which he had

^a Rot. Vascon. 18 Ed. 3. m. 9.^b Rot. Franc. 18 Ed. 3. m. 22.

contracted with his wife, he had been an unwilling, as well as an incompetent, party. Unfortunately, when once this discovery was made, the difficulty of rendering it serviceable to his purpose was but trifling. He wrote instantly to the Pope. He stated that his marriage with Isabel had been concluded during his minority, asserted that he had yielded his consent through fear, and declared that he had never willingly accepted her for his wife; and he concluded, therefore, by praying that his union with that lady might be dissolved, and that permission might be granted to him to contract another marriage. Of this averment the most essential part was evidently false. Whatever might have been his original repugnance to the match (of which, however, there is no evidence), it is clear that his subsequent acts had established his consent, in a manner which it must have required some hardihood to deny. Yet his petition was accorded without hesitation. In 1345, a sentence was issued, pronouncing his former engagement to have been void from the beginning; and, in the same year, the object of his adulterous passion was solemnly admitted to the rights of his legitimate wife.^a

From this disgraceful transaction it is a relief to turn to the more honourable occupations which were still permitted to engage his attention. The success, which continued to attend the arms of the Earl of Derby in Guienne, had already determined Edward to make ano-

^a Rot. Rom. 19 Ed. 3. m. 4. Pat. 19 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 10. The fact of his previous connexion with Eleanor Beaumont is not, I believe, generally known. It is mentioned, however, by Vincent, on the authority of a MS. which he saw in the possession of "Geo. Harvey Armig." and which he pronounces to be "fide dignus." MS. Ashm. 8467.

ther attempt in person on the French crown, and, in 1346, that monarch prepared to carry his resolution into effect. In the preceding year, Arundel had been invested with the civil dignity of sheriff of Shropshire for life: he had also been raised to the more active appointment of admiral of the king's fleet;^a and, in the latter capacity, was now summoned to convey the royal expedition from Southampton to the coast of Normandy.^b When the troops landed at La Hogue, the Earl was created constable of the forces: and, in the memorable battle which ensued near the village of Creci, commanded the second division of the army against Philip of France. Edward had drawn up his men in triple array. The first line was placed under the charge of the young Prince of Wales; and in front of these were stationed the English archers with their formidable bows. It was in the midst of the engagement that the Earls of Alençon and Flanders, closing on the flanks of the latter, enabled a body of French and Germans, who were urging the attack in front, to open a passage to the men-at-arms in the first battalion under the command of the young Edward. Arundel saw the danger which threatened the prince, and hastened to his support. Ordering his division forward, he immediately closed with the enemy: with renewed ardour the English rushed upon their assailants: the French line was first broken, and then destroyed; and earls, knights, and squires, leaders and men-at-arms, were mingled in one promiscuous slaughter. The reader knows what followed. When night closed around, the immense array

^a Original, 19 Ed. 3. rot. 2. Rot. Franc. 19 Ed. 3. m. 35.

^b Rot. Franc. 20 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 2.

of the French monarch, the mighty host which he had brought into the field in the morning, was no more. Philip himself, with a small retinue of five barons and sixty knights, was a fugitive from the vengeance of his opponents; and eleven princes, twelve hundred knights, and thirty thousand persons of inferior condition were, on the following day, found to have perished in the ranks of the enemy.^a

1347. From Creci Edward proceeded to lay siege to Calais, and Arundel accompanied him with a body of more than three hundred of his retainers.^b Whilst he still lay with the army before that town, intelligence was brought that his maternal uncle, John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, was dead. In 1346, that nobleman had entailed upon his nephew a considerable portion of his property; and the earldom of Surrey, which appears to have been attached to it, now devolved upon the heir.^c This accession of dignity and wealth,

^a Froiss. I. c. 122, 130. The best accounts of this battle are in Froissart, *ibid.* 128—132, and Lingard III. 48—53.

^b Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467.

^c Pat. 20 Ed. 3. p. 3. m. 5, is an entail from John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, of the town and castle of Ryegate, the manors of Dorking and Becheworth, the third part of the tolls of Guildford and Southwark, in the county of Surrey, the town and castle of Lewes, the manors of Cuckfield, Clayton, Ditcheling, Meeching, Peckham, Brighthelmstone, Rottingdean, Hendon, Northease, Radmeld, Kymer, Middleton, Alington, Worth, and Pycombe, the towns of Seaford, Iford, and Pydinghoo, in Sussex, the castles of Dynasbran and Lions, with the lands of Bromfield, Yale, and Wrexham, in Wales, on Richard, Earl of Arundel, and his heirs. In 1366, the latter, having levied a fine before the king's justices at Westminster, settled the same property on himself and his wife, for the term of their separate lives, remainder to his eldest son, Richard, and his heirs male, remainder to

however, had no power to withdraw their possessor from the active career in which he was engaged. On the fall of Calais, in August, 1347, the pacific negotiations of the papal legates had succeeded in inducing the belligerents to conclude an armistice for six months; and, in the following year, the Earl of Arundel was one of the commissioners appointed for the purpose of adjusting, in the presence of the Pope, the terms of its prolongation.^a In 1350, he was present with the king in his chivalrous engagement with the Spanish fleet off Winchelsea:^b and, four years later, was deputed, with the Duke of Lancaster and the Bishop of Norwich, to the court of Innocent at Avignon, there to arrange the articles of a permanent reconciliation between the English and French crowns. Edward had offered to renounce his pretensions to the sovereignty of France, provided his independence were acknowledged in those provinces, which he had hitherto held only as a vassal: assurances had been given that no objection would be made to such an accommodation; and the envoys on each part assembled in the presence of the pontiff, to make and receive the necessary renunciations. Arundel and his colleagues, however, were disappointed in their

his second son, John of Arundel, and his heirs male, remainder to his youngest son, Thomas, and *the heirs of his body*; then to Joan, Countess of Hereford, his daughter, and her heirs male, then to the heirs male of the lady Alice, another daughter, and then to his own right heirs. (Concord. Final. Term Pasch. 40 Ed. 3.). In consequence of this entail, the property, at the death of Earl Thomas, in 1415, was divided among his sisters, and the title was suffered to remain in abeyance, till it was revived in favour of John Mowbray, the great grandson of the eldest sister, in 1451. Dudg. Bar. I. 131. See page 128, note, ante.

^a Dudg. Bar. I. 317. Rymer, v. 588. ^b Stow, 250.

exertions. The French receded from the agreement; and the battle of Poitiers, the captivity of their sovereign, and almost the total overthrow of their monarchy soon after followed as the consequences of their insincerity.^a On his return to England, in the ensuing year, the Earl was placed upon the commission of regency, appointed to take charge of the government during the king's absence in France.^b

Arundel survived these events nearly twenty years: but, with the exception of some trifling occurrences, history has recorded little of him during this portion of his life. In 1361, he appears to have acted as justiciary in Sussex, Surrey, and Shropshire:^c and, in 1365, is mentioned in connexion with an event, which offers one instance, amongst a thousand, of the jealousy, with which even a catholic monarch could regard the temporal interference of the Roman see. William de Lenne, auditor of the apostolical court at Rome, was raised to the bishopric of Chichester by papal provision, in 1362. His residence in England seems to have been but casual: yet he found an opportunity of quarrelling with the Earl of Arundel, and, to revenge his cause, procured a citation from the Pope, ordering his opponent to appear and make personal answer in the Roman court to the charges which he should advance against him. Of the origin of the dispute, or the nature of the accusation no account has been preserved: Edward, however, felt that the course adopted by the Bishop was injurious to the dignity of his crown; and, instead of suffering the Earl to obey the citation, instantly summoned the prelate

^a Wals. 170. Murim. 105. Knyght. 2607.

^b Pat. 29 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 11. ^c Rot. Parl. II. 458, 459.

to account for his presumption, in attempting to introduce the authority of a foreign tribunal into the country. As might have been expected, de Lenne, who was in Rome, disregarded the mandate of his sovereign, and the king proceeded to place him out of the royal protection. He was convicted in the penalties of a *præmunire*: the temporalities of his bishopric were immediately seized; and his goods and chattels were confiscated to the use of the crown.^a

The Earl was now hastening to the close of his career. During his declining years, he seems to have retired in a great measure from public life: and it is not improbable that his leisure was partly employed in effecting that enlargement of the Castle of Arundel on the south-west side, which has already been noticed under its appropriate head. Of his wealth, some idea may be formed from the fact, that, on more than one occasion, he was able to assist the king with money for his military expeditions. In 1338, the government was indebted to him in the sum of £1185. 6s. 2*d.*, besides another sum of £103. 3s. 4*d.* which he had furnished for the payment of the men at the siege of Dunbar. In the latter part of the same year, Edward borrowed of him all his wool: in 1340, he obtained a further advance of £1600. for the expedition to Flanders; and, in 1370, after the discharge of various instalments, acknowledged an outstanding amount of twenty thousand pounds to be still due to him.^b The Earl died at Arundel, January 24, 1376,

1376.

^a Placit. 39 Ed. 3. rot. 29.

^b Claus. 12 Ed. 3. p. 2. m. 21. and m. 14. intus. Pat. 14 Ed. 3. p. 3. m. 34. Claus. 44 Ed. 3. m. 10. In the Harleian collection (MS. 4840. f. 395) there is a curious account of the property which he pos-

about the seventieth year of his age, and was buried privately, by his own desire, in the chapter house of the priory at Lewes.^a By his first marriage, he had an only daughter, named Philippa, who became the wife of Sir Richard Serjaux, of Cornwall, Knt. : by his second, he had three sons, Richard, his successor, John, on whose grandson the earldom afterwards devolved, and Thomas, the celebrated archbishop of Canterbury; and four daughters, Alice, Mary, Joan, and Eleanor, whose several marriages have been recorded in the genealogical table already inserted. His will, which is dated December the fifth, 1375, is printed at length in Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*.^b

XIV.

RICHARD FITZALAN, SIXTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

It is a common observation that the complexion of our lives is in a great measure decided by the peculiar circumstances which surround us. Of this truth few persons have furnished a more striking illustration than

sessed, at the time of his death, in money, debts, and other effects. From that document, it appears that he left, "in bags in the high tower of Arundel," and in the hands of certain receivers, the sum of 90,359 *marks*, 1*s.* 1*d.* The debts due to his estate amounted to 12,530 *marks*, 2*s.* 8*d.* : and his plate, jewels, corn, wool, and other effects were valued at 5506 *marks*, 8*s.* 4*d.* : making a total of 108,395 *marks*, 12*s.* 1*d.*, which, according to a calculation made by Peter le Neve, and founded on the relative value of money and price of provisions in 1375 and 1709, would have been equal, at the latter period, to an amount of no less than £4,335,833. 11*s.* 8*d.*

^a Regist. Priorat. Lewes. Dugd. Bar. I. 318.

^b P. 94.

Richard, the fourteenth Earl of Arundel, and his father. The latter lived in the military age of the third Edward: the commanding activity of his prince engaged him constantly in the enterprises or negotiations which crowded the busy period of his life; and he became a warrior and a statesman, favoured by his sovereign, celebrated by his contemporaries, and honoured by succeeding generations. The former fell on less propitious times. With talents and disposition equal to those which had distinguished his father, it was his misfortune to belong to an age, in which the weakness or the waywardness of the monarch threw the whole power of the government into the hands of the court nobles. Intrigue, and disaffection, and lawless violence were the distinctive features of the period. He became the leader of a faction, a conspirator against the authority of his sovereign, and has left a name sullied by reproach, if not by crime, to darken over the more honourable achievements of his life.

He is said to have been the first issue of his father's second marriage with Eleanor Beaumont, and was probably born about the year 1346. Of his education and pursuits, during the early part of his career, we have no records. His youth, however, could scarcely have passed in obscurity: his abilities, even during the life of his father, appear to have discovered themselves to his contemporaries; and, in little more than twelve months after his accession to the earldom, he was summoned to take an active share in the tumultuous transactions of the age. His first recorded entrance into public life was in 1377.^a

1346.

1377.

^a He had, however, been created Knight of the Garter in the preceding reign. Compare the list in Beatson's Index, II. 254, with the entry in Anstis's Register of the Garter, I. 11. note c.

On the sixteenth of July, Richard the second, then in his eleventh year, was crowned at Westminster:^a and, on the following morning, Arundel was chosen a member of the new council, formed to “aid the chancellor and treasurer” in directing the affairs of government, during the minority of the sovereign.^b In the same year, he was created admiral of the west and south:^c in the following April, he embarked with the Earl of Salisbury

1378.

^a Among the claims of service made at this coronation was one preferred by the Earl of Arundel, in which he asserted his right to officiate as Butler to the king on the feast of Pentecost. The ground of this claim was the manor of Bilsington in Kent, which had been held by his ancestors, and to which was attached the service in question. But Bilsington had been sold, and Edmund Stapulgate, the actual possessor, put in a counter-claim. The latter, however, was unsuccessful. After examining the evidences, says the record, it was found that the near approach of the coronation rendered a full investigation of the subject impossible. Still, it appeared from the entries in the exchequer that, after the alienation of Bilsington, the ancestors of the Earl had still continued in possession of the office, whilst those of Stapulgate had never been known to exercise it: and, therefore, “it was determined “that the said Earl should be admitted to perform the service and “receive the fees of the office for the present, without prejudice to “the right of the said Edmund, or any other person whatsoever.” (Claus. 1 Ric. 2. m. 45.). The same proceeding, recorded in the same words, and terminating with the same decision, occurred also at the coronation of Henry the fifth. (MS. Harl. 4840. f. 506, 507). From various entries in a MS. lettered “Coronations, &c. from Edw. 1. to Charles 1.”, and at present in the State Paper Office, it appears that Bilsington was held in capite of the crown, by the service of presenting three cups of maple to the king, at the time of his coronation, as well as by the serjeanty “essendi pincerna Dom. Regis in die Pentecostis.” f. 3. See also Plac. Coron. 21 Ed. 1. and Esch. 46 Ed. 3. n. 58.

^b Rot. Parl. III. 386.

^c Rot. Franc. 1 Ric. 2. p. 1. m. 9. p. 2. m. 21.

for the coast of Normandy ; and, in the course of a few weeks, had the satisfaction to announce to the administration at home, that he had completed the treaty which the king of Navarre had commenced in London, and had obtained possession of the town of Cherbourg.^a At his return to England, he found the Duke of Lancaster ready to set sail on his projected expedition to Bretagne. With that prince he once more embarked for the continent, and, having accompanied the army in its inglorious career through Bretagne, appeared with it at length before the walls of St. Malo. That fortress was the object of Lancaster's principal attack : its siege was immediately commenced ; the operations were continued during several weeks ; and fortune was about to crown the besiegers with success, when an act of negligence on the part of the Earl of Arundel frustrated their hopes, and effectually prevented the reduction of the place. A mine, which had been rapidly advancing, was almost completed ; and the garrison, no less than their assailants, were in hourly expectation of witnessing its effects, in opening a breach in the fortifications. The command of the night-watch had devolved on Arundel : but the carelessness with which its duties were discharged was discovered by the besieged : a sally was instantly planned and executed : the mine was destroyed : the miners were buried in its ruins : the tents of the English were filled with the slaughter of their sleeping inmates ; and the little band of invaders retired without the loss of a man. The mortification of Arundel may be easily conceived. His negligence, however, seems to have been visited with nothing more serious than a reprimand from

^a Wals. 212. Murim. Contin. 143, 147. Froiss. I. cap. 329.

Lancaster: and the memory of his misconduct, and of the disasters entailed by it upon the army, was, probably, not without its effect in stimulating his future exertions.^a

- Froissart appears to intimate that the public disgrace, which this expedition procured for Lancaster, was equally shared by the Earl of Arundel.^b If such, however, were the fact, it is certain, at least, that he must have speedily regained the confidence of the country; for when, in
1380. January, 1380, the council of regency was dissolved, and a commission appointed, at the request of the commons, to examine into the revenues and expenses of the crown, he was among the first selected to discharge the important trust, and was placed at the head of the lay commissioners, in the warrant issued on
1381. that occasion.^c In November, 1381, he was named, in conjunction with Sir Michael de la Pole, to supply the place of the former regency, and to take charge of “the counsel and government of the king’s person.”^d
- 1383-4. Two years later, he joined the army destined to act against the Scots:^e and, in the summer of 1385, signaled himself among the body of fifteen thousand men, who, having driven the united forces of France and Scotland from Northumberland, crossed the borders, burned Edinburgh, Dunfermling, Perth, and Dundee, and were only prevented from seizing Aberdeen, which they had reached, and entering the Scottish highlands,

^a Froiss. I. cap. 336.

^b “Specially bycause Saynt Malos was so escaped, therefore the Erle of Arundell had but lytell grace nor love.” Ib.

^c Rot. Parl. III. 73, 74.

^d Ibid. 104.

^e Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467.

by the suspicions excited in the mind of Richard, as to the fidelity of his uncle Lancaster.^a

The abandonment of the expedition, and the return of the troops released Arundel from his subordinate service in the army, to invest him with the supreme command upon another element. The French, whose junction with the Scottish forces, in the last year, had failed to realize their views on England, were determined to attempt the reduction of the country, by a direct and powerful invasion. Their preparations were made on the most extensive scale. Lords, knights, and squires emulated each other in their eagerness to join the expedition: provisions were collected from every quarter; and a fleet of more than twelve hundred sail assembled in the harbour of Sluys. England was in consternation at the news of this formidable armament:

1386.

^a Froiss. II. cap. 11, 13, 14, 15. The late Sir Walter Scott mentions this expedition, but describes it in the following partial manner. "The English army advanced to *Edinburgh*, when they were recalled by the news that the Scots had invaded Cumberland.... And such was the superior wealth of England, even in its northern provinces, that, according to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in their raid, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted on Scotland, *had they burned as far as Aberdeen.*" Hist. of Scotl. I. 224.—Perhaps the reader will be curious to compare this with Froissart's account. "The kynge and his lordes," says he, "retourned into Englande the same way they came, *but they hadde destroyed the moost parte of the realme of Scotlande.... And the frenchemen sayd howe they had brent and destroyed in the bysshoprike of Dyrhame, and Carlyle, that was better worthe than all y^e townes in Scotlande.*" II. c. 15. I should here add that the troops engaged in this expedition have always been computed at eighty thousand men. From a document, however, printed in the *Archæologia* (xxii. 13.), it is certain that they did not exceed the number specified in the text.

but every precaution which prudence could suggest was instantly adopted: the southern ports were filled with strong bodies of archers and men-at-arms; and the whole naval force of the country was ordered into immediate service. Of the fleet, to which the destinies of the country were thus entrusted, Arundel was appointed admiral.^a His instructions were, neither to risk an engagement, nor to obstruct the landing of the troops: but, as soon as the forces were disembarked, to destroy their ships, and cut off the possibility of retreat. The whole, however, of this mighty invasion soon evaporated in little more than mere display. The constable of France, indeed, had shipped a quantity of stores and warlike implements, for the use of the army when it should have landed: but a storm dispersed his fleet off the isle of Thanet: two of the vessels fell into the hands of the English governor of Calais: several others were taken by the Earl of Arundel and the ships under his command: and the main body of the invading force, disheartened, perhaps, by this unpropitious commencement, lingered in the port of Sluys from week to week, till at length it was deemed advisable to postpone the prosecution of the enterprise till the following year.^b

Arundel returned to England about the end of September; and instantly found himself involved in those intrigues, from which all his subsequent misfortunes derived their origin. Unchecked by the authority of Lancaster, who was engaged in his Spanish expedition, and jealous of the commanding influence of the royal favourites, Vere, now Duke of Ireland, and Sir Michael

^a Froiss. II. c. 49.

^b Froiss. II. cap. 49, 58, 59. Knyght. 2679.

de la Pole, lately created Earl of Suffolk, the Duke of Gloucester had eagerly availed himself of the excitement caused by the threatened invasion from France, to plot, among the chief nobles, the overthrow of the government. Arundel readily lent himself to the conspiracy. At the beginning of October, the king summoned a parliament to meet him at Westminster, and, in answer to a demand of supplies, received an address requiring him to dismiss the members of his council, and acquainting him with the design of the commons to send up an impeachment against the chancellor, as soon as he should be deprived. During three weeks, Richard resolutely fought the battle of his favourites; but, in the end, he was compelled to surrender; the obnoxious ministers were dismissed, and Arundel received a commission to preside, in conjunction with the Duke of Gloucester, at the trial of Suffolk, who was found guilty on a string of frivolous charges, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.^a

The next attempt of the confederate lords was aimed more immediately at the royal power. It was proposed to form a commission similar to those which had been established in the reigns of John, Henry the third, and Edward the second; and twelve persons, with the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel at their head, were named to constitute a permanent council, for the redress of grievances, and the reformation of the government. The proposition was resisted by the king, and, to remind him of the probable consequences of his con-

^a Compare Walsingham (325) with Rot. Parl. III. 216-220, and Knyght. 2680-2685.

tumacy, the statute of deposition against Edward the second was called for by the parliament. Still he refused his assent to the intended arrangement: but a message was conveyed to him from the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel that, if he persisted in his opposition, he would endanger his life; and he was at length induced, with a reluctant hand, to affix his signature to a qualified agreement, transferring his own power to the commissioners, for the space of twelve months.^a The supplies were now voted, and Arundel was appointed admiral of England. The half of a tenth, and a similar portion of a fifteenth were placed in his hands for the service of the navy: the remainder was left at the disposal of the commissioners for the use of the crown; and the obedience of Richard was secured by an express condition that, if he attempted in any manner to disturb the new arrangements, he should derive no benefit from the grant.^b

1387. In the spring, Arundel put to sea with a powerful force, and if a series of brilliant successes could have atoned for the political crimes into which he afterwards suffered himself to be betrayed, the splendour of his present achievements might fairly have vindicated him in the eyes of the world. His first exploit was the capture of a large convoy of French, Spanish, and Flemish merchantmen laden with wines, which he intercepted in its return from Rochelle. The enemy were first descried to windward, bearing up the channel before the

^a Rot. Parl. III. 374-376. Knyght. 2685, 2686.

^b MSS. Cott. Faust. C. ix. 22. Wals. 324. Rot. Parl. III. 220, 221.

breeze, and little anticipating the disaster in which they were about to be involved. Their force consisted of upwards of one hundred sail: their ships were manned by the most experienced seamen of their respective nations; and they were farther protected by the size and strength of the vessels, and the means of defence which they possessed. Arundel, however, was not dismayed by the power of his opponents; though, in order to accomplish his object, he found it necessary, in the first instance, to deceive the enemy, by manifesting symptoms of alarm. Making a signal to his fleet, he ordered every sail to be hoisted, as if for the purpose of escaping the pursuit of the foreigners: the latter, encouraged by this appearance of timidity, eagerly followed in chase of their flying adversaries; while the Earl, gradually slackening sail as they advanced, at length allowed them to approach near enough to survey the whole amount of the force which they were about to encounter. If an attack were their original object, their purpose speedily melted away in the presence of what they now beheld. To recede, however, was beyond their power: and, as the most probable means of avoiding an engagement, they determined to conceal the hostile motive of their approach, and pass without noticing the English fleet. This was precisely what Arundel desired. Having now got to windward, he instantly ordered his galleys manned with archers to commence the attack: in the meantime the larger vessels, which had been prepared for action, bore down upon the enemy; and, in the course of a few minutes, the battle became general. The resistance of the foreigners was worthy of the stake for which they fought.

Their quarrels flew with certain and destructive aim; showers of stones poured from the warlike engines with which they were provided; and immense bodies of iron, hurled from the extreme height of the masts upon the decks of their opponents, crushed the men, and sunk the smaller vessels by which they were assailed. But the courage of the English, and the skill of their admiral were alike superior to all the efforts of their adversaries. During four hours, the bravery, or the despair, of the foreigners enabled them to prolong the conflict. As the evening drew in, however, their resistance became less vigorous: by degrees the more distant vessels dropt off, for the purpose of seeking safety in flight: those, which possessed not the same facilities for escape, were compelled to surrender to their victorious assailants: and, before night could separate the combatants, Arundel found himself in possession of no less than eighty of the enemy's ships. Two days later, those which had fled during the action were overtaken and captured; and, to disencumber himself of the immense booty he had acquired, he returned to harbour with upwards of one hundred sail which he had taken, and a quantity of wine, amounting, according to one historian, to no less than nineteen thousand tons.^a After refitting his vessels, he once more embarked for the French coast; and having thrown provisions into the town of Brest, then besieged by the Duke of Bretagne, sailed to Sluys, destroyed or captured the vessels

^a Compare Walsingham (326) with Froiss. (ii. c. 72, 73) and Knyght. (2692). Froissart informs us that, in consequence of this capture, the best wine was, for several months, sold in London at fourpence the gallon.

in the harbour, and laid waste the country to a distance of more than ten leagues. This terminated his operations until the following spring, when they were renewed, with equal success, on the western coast of France; and Torigni, Marans, Rochelle, with the numerous ports in Saintonge, Poictou, and Normandy, were successively compelled to acknowledge the power of his arms.^a

But the interval which elapsed between these expeditions casts a melancholy shadow over the splendid exploits that distinguished them. It is not, indeed, improbable that, if, on his return to England in the autumn of 1387, he had met with that reception from the king which his successes so justly demanded, he might have been effectually detached from the faction, to which he had united himself in the preceding year. But his known hostility to the influence of the royal favourites had already secured the enmity of those noblemen: Ireland, Suffolk, and Sir Simon Burley

^a Froiss. II. cap. 125, 133, 134, 150, 153. Wals. 326, 334. Knyght. 2692, 2693. Froissart's description of the fleet, when it sailed from Brest to Rochelle, in 1388, is extremely beautiful. "When the erle of Arundell and suche lordes as were with hym, were departed fro the cost of Bretayne, they sayled with good wynd and wether, for y^e tyme was fayre and pleasaunt, and goodly to beholde y^e shippes on y^e see: they were a sixscore one and other, with baners and stremers wavyng in the wynde, glytrynge with the lordes armes agaynst the sonne: thus they went saylyng by the see fresshly (like a horse newe comyng out of the stable brayeng and cryeng and fomyng at the mouth): the see was so prompe and so agreable to them, as thoughe by figure the see shulde have said to them,—'be merry, Sirs, I am for you, and I shall bring you to good porte and haven without peryll.'" II. cap. 133.

sneered at the victory which had accomplished the destruction only of a merchant fleet: the monarch himself, influenced, probably, both by their sarcasms and his own resentment, met him with coldness, if not with anger; and the Earl, thus thrown back, as it were, upon his discontented associates, was confirmed in his adherence to those violent counsels in which he had already embarked.^a Nor were apprehensions even for his personal safety wanting to precipitate his career. It was but natural that the monarch, who had been compelled to sign the act of his own degradation, should avail himself of the first opportunity to regain his lost authority; and that he, who, in the first instance, had resolutely persisted in limiting the duration of the commission to twelve months, should, at the expiration of that term, as resolutely withstand its prolongation. Of this feeling the adversaries of the Earl were determined to avail themselves, for the purpose of effecting his ruin. Their first step was to persuade Richard to demand the opinion of the judges as to the legality of the commission, and to ascertain, from the same authority, the nature and extent of the punishment which the law awarded to its framers. The answers of the judges were favourable to the views of the royal advisers. It was resolved that Arundel, with Gloucester and the other obnoxious leaders, should be seized and indicted for conspiracy and treason: it was provided, in case of failure in the indictment, that the parties should be decoyed to Calais, and privately murdered; and every arrangement, which could tend to forward the execution of these separate

^a Wals. 327.

designs, was instantly, but secretly, made by the king's party.^a In the mean time, Arundel had retired from the insults of the court to the privacy of his own castle at Ryegate. Hither, in the course of a few days, the Earl of Northumberland was despatched with orders to arrest him : but his retainers were able to offer an effectual resistance to the attempt, and, the same night, in order to defeat the plans which had been laid for his assassination, he was induced to quit Ryegate, and join the Duke of Gloucester who had warned him of his danger. If he before hesitated in his allegiance, his resolution to abandon it was now fixed. It was the eleventh of November, 1387 : on the nineteenth the commission was to expire ; and Richard, who, at his entry into London on the preceding day, had been received with marks of unusual attachment, was beginning to congratulate himself on the prospect of recovering his ascendancy, and gratifying his revenge, when he was suddenly alarmed by the intelligence, that Arundel had assembled an army, and, in company with Gloucester and the Earl of Nottingham, had already reached Hackney at the head of forty thousand armed men. The next

^a Rot. Parl. III. 233, 234. The article entered on the rolls, charging Suffolk and his associates with having advised the cession of Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, with various castles in Artois, and Picardy, to the French king, in return for his assistance in effecting this murder, might almost appear to have been invented by the malice of their enemies. Walsingham, however, and Knyghton both mention the same fact, though the latter says that the object of ceding the places in question was to obtain Charles's aid in levying war against the commissioners, whom Richard had been taught to suspect of a design to overturn his throne. Wals. 333. Knyght. 2697.

morning, the king issued a proclamation, denouncing the Earl as a traitor, and forbidding the citizens either to lend him assistance or to furnish him with provisions.^a The confederates, who had now been joined by the Earls of Derby and Warwick, replied in a body, by “appealing” five of the king’s favourites of treason. They also addressed a letter to the citizens in answer to the royal proclamation: they declared that their intentions were not directed against the sovereign: assured the mayor and aldermen that their only object was to restrain and punish the excesses of the traitors who surrounded the throne; and charged them, as they valued the safety of their city, to yield their instant and cheerful assistance in furtherance of this loyal design. The manner in which this address was received seems to have alarmed Richard. The next day, he despatched a deputation to the appellants, and, having insured their safety by the oath of the bishop of Ely, expressed his willingness to receive their complaints in person, on the following Sunday. At the appointed time, they appeared at Westminster. As they entered the hall of the palace, the king rose from his throne, and, extending his hand to each, desired them to state the subject of their grievances. They began with protestations of their loyalty, and of their innocence of every criminal design: they declared that their intention was to rescue him from the pernicious influence of the archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tre-

Nov. 17.

^a This proclamation, which is entered on the rolls (III. 235.), proves that, although Gloucester’s name is generally placed before that of Arundel, the latter was the real leader of the confederate army, if not of the confederacy itself.

silian false Justice, and Nicholas Bramber false Knight, whom they now accused of treason: and, to complete the formalities of the charge, they flung their gauntlets on the floor, and offered severally to prove the truth of their appeal by single combat. Richard replied that the matter should be referred to parliament: in the mean time, he would take each of the parties under his royal protection, and they should find that justice should be effectually done to all. He then conducted them to a private apartment, and, having offered them refreshments, of which they partook, parted with them in the most friendly and affectionate manner. Two days later, he issued a proclamation, declaring that, after a scrupulous enquiry into the conduct of Arundel and his associates, he had discovered nothing that could deserve the slightest reprehension; and that any report, tending to represent them as dangerous or disaffected persons, was a false and wicked scandal.^a

The suspicions, which Arundel and the other confederates entertained of Richard's sincerity, were not removed by the cordiality of his demeanour on this occasion: they were confirmed by the intelligence which arrived a few days later, that the Duke of Ireland, who had fled to the northern borders of Wales, had been commanded by the king to raise a body of troops for the royal service, and was already in arms against the appellants. Fortunately, the latter, as a measure of precaution, had been careful not to disband their forces; and orders were immediately issued for intercepting the army of their opponent in its passage to the metropolis.

^a Rot. Parl. III. 229, 235, 357. Knyght. 2696, 2701. Wals. 330, 331.

Dec. 12. At Huntingdon a council was held, in which Arundel, as the readiest means of destroying the power of the favourites, agreed with Gloucester and Warwick to depose Richard for a time, and, in the interval, to take the custody of the crown into their own hands: but the Earls of Derby and Nottingham at once resisted the proposal: at the same moment, information was brought, that the Duke of Ireland was rapidly advancing in another direction; and the confederates, abandoning the proposition which would have deprived the monarch of his crown, hastened by different roads to meet the enemy, and seize the several passes in his way.^a Of any personal share which Arundel may have had in the victory of Radcot Bridge, no accounts have been preserved; and it is not improbable that the division which he commanded, instead of being present at the engagement, may have been employed in guarding one of the distant passes to the capital. After the destruction of the force under the Duke of Ireland, however, he returned to London with his associates, and, having taken the keys of the city from the mayor, demanded and obtained an audience from the king, who, for security, had retired to spend his christmas in the tower. On their admission to the royal presence, the appellants produced the letters which Richard had despatched to the Duke of Ireland, and which they had taken among the baggage of that nobleman: they upbraided him with his treachery, in thus levying war against the persons whom he had pretended to take under his protection: charged him with the conspiracy which had formerly threatened to deprive them of their lives: exhibited certain letters,

^a Rot. Parl. III. 376, 379. Knyght. 2702. Wals. 331.

which they had intercepted, from the French king, concerning a disgraceful and wicked treaty lately commenced with that monarch; and concluded by requiring the instant and exemplary punishment of the traitors under whose advice he had acted. The terrified monarch at once yielded to all their demands. Of the usual attendants on the court the greater part were either dismissed, or imprisoned: such of the obnoxious counsellors as had not escaped were brought to trial before a parliament sworn to the interests of the appellants: eight were executed as traitors: the judges whose opinions had been taken by the king, as well as his confessor, the bishop of Chichester, were banished; and the archbishop of York, the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, who had eluded the more immediate vengeance of the confederates, were declared traitors and sentenced as outlaws. As the reward of their services, a present of twenty thousand pounds, to be paid out of a subsidy then granted, was voted by parliament to the five appellants.^a

1388.
Feb. 3.

Arundel and his party, who now possessed the whole administration of the government, continued, during more than twelve months, to exercise it with an independence, which rendered Richard little more than a mere puppet in their hands. Their ascendancy, however, was not likely to outlive the necessity which compelled the submission of the sovereign. Entering the parliament summoned to meet him at Westminster, in 1389, the monarch enquired of the assembled lords if they could inform him of his age. “Your

1389,
May 3.

^a Rot. Parl. III. 229, 244, 248. Knyght. 2704, 2705, 2726, 2728. Wals. 333, 334. Pat. 11 Ric. 2. p. 2. m. 5.

highness is in your twenty-third year,"—was the answer. "Then, my Lords," replied the king turning to the members of his council, "I can in future dispense with your assistance. For your past services I thank you: I have long been an obedient pupil to my tutors; but I am henceforth prepared to take the management of my kingdom into my own hands. The commission is dissolved."—Startled at this unexpected announcement, the faction was unable to resist, and, before they could recover themselves, Arundel found that his associates were dismissed from all their offices, and that he was himself deprived of the command of the navy.^a Vexed at his disgrace, and, perhaps, mistrusting the assurances of pardon, conveyed both by the royal proclamation, and the king's assent in parliament,^b he immediately requested and obtained permission to travel;^c but, in 1390. the course of the following year, he had returned to England, and had so far succeeded in effecting his reconciliation at court, that, in August, we find him engaged in a hunting party with the king, on the estate of the Duke of Lancaster at Leicester.^d In 1394, he obtained an especial pardon of all his political offences;^e

^a Knyght. 2735. Wals. 337. ^b Rot. Parl. III. 248, 249, 404.

^c Dugd. Bar. I. 319.

^d Knyght. 2737.

^e "Rex. &c. Sciatis quod perdonavimus dilecto et fideli consanguineo nostro Ricardo, Com. Arundell, sectam pacis nostræ, quæ ad nos versus ipsum pertinet, pro omnimodis proditionibus, insurrectionibus, cum communibus vel cum aliis quibuscumque, contra ligeantiam suam, feloniis, receptamentis felonum et proditorum, per ipsum seu per aliquas alias personas, ex procuratione, abettamento, assensu, aut covinâ suis, ante hæc tempora factis sive perpetratis Et insuper perdonavimus et remisimus eidem comiti omnimodas cambipartias, conspirationes, confederationes, ambidextrias, manutenentias

and, in the same year, having made some charges against the Duke of Lancaster, which he failed to establish, and for which he was compelled to apologize, he became disgusted with public life, and procured a particular exemption from all attendance in parliament for the future.^a

During five years, he continued to enjoy that privacy which the tumultuous scenes of his past life must have rendered more than usually delightful. But the storm was gathering in the distant horizon, and the tranquillity which surrounded him, if he calculated on its continuance, was soon destined to deceive his expectations. Richard was but little scrupulous on the subject of his promises. If, in the day of his weakness, he had solemnly reiterated his pardons, in the hour of his strength, he had no objection to abandon his engagements, and revenge himself on the victim whom the dissimulation of years had lulled into security. On the twelfth of July, 1397, Arundel, who had been unsuspectingly brought to a private conference with the king, was suddenly seized, and, with a promise confirmed to

1397.

falsarum querelarum, transgressiones, falsas allegantias, falsitates, acceptiones, procuramenta falsorum indictamentorum, ac etiam injusta imprisonamenta ligeorum nostrorum, et etiam omnimodas negligencias, mesprisiones, ignorantias, et alias demandas quascumque, ac etiam utlegarias, si quæ in ipsum hiis occasionibus fuerint promulgatæ." T. R. apud Windsor, 30 April.—Pat. 17 Ric. 2. m. 15.

^a Rot. Parl. III. 313, 314. Pat. 17 Ric. 2. p. 2. m. 16. The words of the apology which he was ordered to address to Lancaster were:—"Sire, sith that hit semeth to the kyng and to the other lordes, and eke that yhe ben so mychel grevid and displeisid be my wordes, hit forthynketh me, and byseche yowe of your gode Lordship to remyt me your mau-talent" (displeasure).

him on oath, that he should suffer neither in his goods nor person, was first hurried to the tower, and thence, for greater security, conveyed to Carisbrook castle, in the Isle of Wight.^a Gloucester and the Earl of Warwick had also been apprehended; and Richard, to calm the public excitement, immediately issued a proclamation, assuring the country that the offences for which the prisoners had been arrested were of recent occurrence; that they were wholly unconnected with the transactions which had passed in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign; and that, consequently, those of his subjects, who had been implicated on that occasion, had no reason to feel any apprehension from the proceedings now about to be instituted.^b

The next step was to make arrangements for the trial of the accused. In imitation of the process which the prisoners themselves had formerly adopted, the king resolved to appeal them of treason, and eight persons, selected as appellants, were ordered to appear and prosecute the charge in the ensuing parliament.^c On Monday, the seventeenth of September, the lords and commons assembled at Westminster. The next day, Bussy, the speaker, who had received his instructions, opened the proceedings: on the part of the commons, he petitioned the king that the statute passed in the tenth year of his reign, authorizing the commission of regency, might be repealed, as “injurious to his royal person, his crown, and dignity;” that whoever should, in future, seek or procure such commission might incur the penalties of treason; and that the

^a Rot. Parl. III. 435. Wals. 354.

^b Rymer VIII. 6.

^c Rot. Parl. III. 374, 451.

general pardon confirmed in parliament to the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, as well as the particular pardon granted by his highness to the Earl of Arundel, might be annulled, as highly prejudicial to the royal authority.^a It may be easily supposed that these requests were cheerfully complied with: it will be as easily seen that the very act of cancelling the former pardons contained a tacit acknowledgment that the charges, on which the prisoners were about to be arraigned, were not of the recent date which had been pretended. This, however, was a matter of trifling amount in the estimation both of Richard and his subservient parliament. On Friday, the twenty-first of September, the Earl of Arundel, in custody of Sir Ralph Neville, the constable of the tower, was conducted to Westminster. The lords appellants, who had undertaken the prosecution in behalf of the king, were already assembled, and the articles which they had previously exhibited against them were read. They stated, 1st. That he, Richard, Earl of Arundel, in conjunction with Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, had, in the year 1386, threatened the life of the king, and thereby

^a Rot. Parl. III. 348-351. So anxious was Richard to obliterate the recollection of the pardon granted to Arundel, that no sooner had it been annulled by parliament, than he addressed letters to the sheriffs of every county in England, requiring them to make instant proclamation through their respective districts, that any person possessing either the original instrument or any copies thereof, or knowing where the same were to be found, and not delivering them into the king's hands before a certain day, or certifying him of such particulars as might enable him to obtain them, should be punished by the forfeiture of all his goods to the crown. Claus. 21 Ric. 2. p. 2. m. 18. dorso.

compelled him to sign the commission of regency : 2d. That, in the following year, he had debauched the fidelity of the Earl of Warwick, and the Lord Thomas Mortimer, had assembled an armed body at Harringay Park, had appeared in arms in the royal presence, and had forced the king to take him to his protection : 3d. That, in 1388, he, with his accomplices, had usurped the royal power, and, without the assent of the king, against his will, and in his absence, had condemned Sir Simon Burley to death : 4th. That, at Huntingdon, in 1387, he had with others conspired to dethrone the king, that he had referred to the deposition of Edward the second, and had told his sovereign that, if *he* had not shared the same fate as that monarch, he had been saved only by the respect, which still survived, for his deceased father's virtues. To these charges the Earl pleaded a general and particular pardon : but he was told that both had been repealed, and that, unless he could substitute some other defence, the law would be put in execution. This, however, he refused. He had been accused of having recently conspired against his sovereign : let his enemies specify their charges, and he was ready to establish his innocence, either by single combat, or by the verdict of his country. In the mean time, if they persisted in arraigning him for actions which had long since been pardoned, to that pardon he would continue to appeal ; and let them shew, if they could, that, whatever were the circumstances under which the general amnesty was published, the special warrant of forgiveness which he had obtained, and which was issued five years after himself and his friends had been removed from the royal counsels, was not the act

of the monarch's unbiassed will. But this reasoning was lost on a court which had already decided his fate. The appellants demanded judgment: the Duke of Lancaster, as high steward of England, pronounced the sentence of treason; and the prisoner was delivered to the Lord Morley, the lieutenant of the earl marshal, and ordered to be led to immediate execution.^a Arundel heard his doom with a composure undisturbed by the slightest symptom of fear. Turning to his guards, he cheerfully resigned himself to their charge; and was instantly hurried from Westminster to Tower Hill, the place appointed for the scene of his last conflict. When he had ascended the platform, he paused for a moment to survey the assembled multitude; took up the axe which lay upon the block before him; and, having felt its edge, playfully remarked that it was sufficiently sharp, and that he hoped the executioner would perform his office expeditiously. He then knelt down; and at one stroke his head was severed from his body.^b The remains were immediately conveyed for private interment to the church of the Augustinian friars in Bread Street, Cheapside; but the crowd which had witnessed the constancy, and even cheerfulness, displayed by him on the scaffold, followed them to the place of their burial,

Sep. 21.

^a Rot. Parl. III. 374—377. 435.

^b It is evident from the Rolls of parliament (III. 377.) that the story told by Froissart and Walsingham, and repeated by Hollinshed, Dugdale, and all their modern copyists, of the earl marshal's being present at the execution, and binding up the eyes of his father-in-law, is at variance with the fact. Froissart's own account, indeed, contradicts it: for he tells us, what we otherwise know to be correct, that the earl marshal was actually at Calais with the Duke of Gloucester, when Arundel was executed. II. cap. 226.

and insisted on offering them the honours of a martyr. The memory of his religious actions was now recalled: the report of miracles already wrought through his intercession, was propagated and believed in every quarter; and constant pilgrimages to his tomb testified at once the credulity of the suppliants, and the veneration in which he was held by the common people. It was even said, that God had determined to manifest the injustice of his execution, and that his head had been miraculously reunited to his body. Richard became alarmed at these symptoms of popular displeasure. At midnight, on the tenth day after the burial of the Earl, he sent a party of his own friends to the church, with instructions to open the grave, and examine the state of the body. As might have been expected, no extraordinary appearance was discernible: the tomb, however, was ordered to be destroyed, and, as a matter of precaution, it was deemed advisable to disinter the remains, and remove them to a place of concealment beneath the pavement.^a In the following reign, the piety of the Earl's son prompted him to mark the original spot by "a sumptuouse tounge of marble stone," which Fabian tells us remained in his time, on "the north syde of the quyer."^b

The character of this nobleman must necessarily suffer much from the violent and treasonable counsels in which he was engaged: yet the submission and retirement of his latter years may, perhaps, be thought to offer some atonement for the indiscretions of his earlier life; whereas the penalty, with which he was ultimately visited, must for ever remain a disgrace to the monarch by whom it was inflicted. That, after the dissolution

^a Wals. 354, 355. W. Wyrcest. 444.

^b II. 154.

of the commission, in 1389, he united with Gloucester and others in plotting the deposition and imprisonment of the king, there is no evidence to shew. On the contrary, Gloucester's confession, which is generally appealed to, proves directly the reverse,^a whilst Richard's own conduct offers more than a presumption in favour of the accused. Had Arundel been really guilty of any recent offence, the king would scarcely have pledged his royal faith for the safety of his prisoner: he would neither have omitted to state the fact among the charges at his trial, nor have deemed it necessary, in the first instance, to procure the repeal of the pardons which he had formerly granted. Yet such, as we have seen, was the extraordinary course which he adopted: and, in looking, therefore, at the story, so frequently repeated, of the conspiracy at Arundel Castle, in 1397,^b it is impos-

^a " And as of any newe thyng or ordenaunce that ever I shuld have
 " wyten or knowen, ordeyned or assentyd, prive or apert, that schuld
 " have bene azeyns my Loordys estate, or his luste, or ony that
 " longeth abowte hym, *syth that day that I swore unto hym at*
 " *Langeley*, on Goddys body trewly: and be that oothe that I ther
 " made, I nev' knew of gaderyng azeyns hym, ne none other that
 " longeth unto hym." Rot. Parl. III. 379.—That oath was taken in
 1387. Compare Walsingham (329) with Rot. Parl. III. 421.

^b Froiss. II. cap. 222. Hollinsh. II. 836. Ed. 1807. It is the remark of Hume, in reference to this supposed conspiracy, that the credit of Froissart, notwithstanding his acknowledged impartiality, is " somewhat impaired by his want of exactness in material facts," (III. 30.).—Hollinshed's sole authority in this instance is an anonymous " French pamphlet," apparently the MS. Ambassades, from which extracts have been published by Gaillard, and which, though containing many curious particulars, has been shewn by Mr. Webb to be a work not always free from anachronisms and other errors. (Archæol. XX. 12 et passim). The story of the conspiracy will be

sible not to regard it as a report invented for the sole purpose of explaining or justifying the proceedings of Richard. Of the other parts of this Earl's character and conduct it is less difficult, because more agreeable, to speak. In council, he was clear and decisive, in action, bold and persevering, in the several relations of private life, beloved by all who fell within the sphere of his influence. His courage and talents as a commander are immortalized in the exploits which he performed, and the victories which he achieved: the versatility of his powers is visible in the various services in which they were successfully employed. Nor was the lustre of his private virtues eclipsed by the brilliancy of his public actions. As a husband, a father, and a friend, he was equally beloved, and equally entitled to the affection which he met. His religion was without bigotry, his piety without affectation: whilst the college and the hospital which he established at Arundel, and which will be separately noticed hereafter, bear ample testimony both to the charity and the zeal by which he was constantly animated. Of his devotional feelings a curious illustration has been preserved. In the Cartulary of Tichfield Abbey, Hampshire, there are letters of fraternity from the abbot and convent to Richard, Earl of Arundel. They are dated June the second, 1380, the same year in which he commenced the college at Arundel; and appear to have been granted at his earnest solicitation. They admit him into the brotherhood in Gaillard's Account and Extracts from MSS. in the library of the king of France, Vol. II. p. 205: but it is not, perhaps, unworthy of observation, that no contemporary English writer mentions any meeting at Arundel, or any design, on the part of the Earl and his associates, to interfere with the government, after 1387.

hood of the house, to have a full share in its prayers and religious observances : they associate with him the soul of Elizabeth, his countess, and those of the Lord Richard and Lady Eleanor, his parents ; and they promise, on behalf of the community, to make an annual commemoration of each of these parties, as well as of himself after his death, in a solemn service to be performed on four specified days. To the enjoyment of these privileges certain religious exercises were of course attached ; and the sanctity, which was attributed to him at his death, offers no unsatisfactory evidence of the punctuality and fervour with which they were discharged.^a

^a Cartul. f. 107. The anniversaries were to be kept, for his father on the twenty-first of February, for his mother on the fifth of May, for his wife on the twenty-fourth of July, and for himself after his decease on the thirteenth of November. They were, however, to be specially claimed by the Earl and his successors of each new abbot on his election. The first of these was John de Ramesey, to whom the following letter of requisition was delivered from the Earl, on the sixteenth of January, 1391. “ Richard Counte d’Arundell et surr’ a nos tres ch’rs en dieux labbe et couent de Tychefeld’ saluz. Veuillez sauoir q̃ nous enuoinz n̄re chier et bien ame esquyer, thom^{as} chamb’leyn, pur receyuere en n̄re noun la conussaunce de uous abbe ore de nouell’ eslit et conferme, & dauoir en especial par tout v̄re temps les almes elizabet n̄re compaigne, richard’ n̄re treshon^{re} piere, et elienore n̄re myere q̃ dieux assoill,’ en especial frañnite : & outre ceo q̃ vous & chescun de v̄re couent en oresouns. preieres. ieunes. dony-souns. almoignes. & autres m’itories oeures en v̄re mouster affaire, et soient parsoners p̄petuelement en v̄re dit meison & q̃ chescun an, vous ferres en especial un obeit pur les p̄sones & p^r chescun de eux cestassauoir le noefisme kalend’ de marcz pur lalme n̄re treshon^{re} piere, la tierce nonas de maii pur lalme elienore n̄re myere, non̄ kalend’ daugst p^r lalme elisabet n̄re compaigne, & p^r n̄re alme en dewe man’e apre n̄re decesse pleyn s’uice p^r les mortez, cestassauoir,

The will of the Earl of Arundel, though it has already been printed in the original French, among the Royal and Noble Wills,^a is nevertheless too curious in many of its details to be entirely omitted in a work dedicated to the history of his family. It is dated at “*Mon Chastel Philipp,*” March the fourth, 1392, and having recommended his soul to “*the all powerful Trinity,*” bequeaths his body to be buried in the priory of Lewes, in a place behind the high altar which he had already pointed out to his beloved in God, Dan John Chierlieu, the prior, and brother Thomas Ashebourne, his confessor. To this same spot he orders the body of his dear wife, Elizabeth, if not deposited there during his life, to be removed by his executors from the place where it now lies. He directs his herse to be lighted by no more than five large wax candles, besides the usual watch-lights (*mortiers*^b), in the same manner as that of his much honoured lord and father: desires that,

placebo et dirige ove neof lessouns & le io^r ap's (jour apres) solempne messe de note, solom la p^rport dun fait a nous eut fait par iohn iadys abbe et le couent de mesme le lieux. et auxi vous prions q̄ vous donetz ferme foy & credence de ceo q̄ n^re dit esquyer vous dirra de bouche de par nous touchaunt la mat'ie susdite, en tesmoignaunce de quele chose a icestes nous auons fait mettire n^re seal, done a n^re chastell' darundell' le primer iour de ianuer lan du regne le roy richard 'seconde qatiro'syme."

To this letter the abbot returned the following verbal answer by the messenger: “*Vere anniversaria pro animabus prædictorum Ricardi, Eleanoræ, Elizabeth, et Ricardi bene et fideliter in monasterio nostro fient annuatim, toto tempore vitæ nostræ, prout carta nostra condonat.*” *Cartul. ut sup.*—This cartulary is at present in the possession of his Grace the Duke of Portland. ^a P. 120.

^b *Mortiers à veille* are the wax lights which, in France, are still placed round the bodies of the deceased, before their interment.

in whatever part of England he may chance to die, his body may be conveyed as privately as possible to the said priory; and strictly charges his executors not to employ in its removal either armed men, horses, herse, or other extravagance ('bobaunce'), beyond what he has before ordained. Should he die abroad, his remains are to be interred in the nearest convenient place: but in no circumstances will he allow the expenses of his funeral, exclusive of the money which shall be distributed for the benefit of his soul among the poor, on the day of his burial, to exceed five hundred marks.^a To provide for the discharge of his debts, and in particular for the performance of such part of his deceased father's will as may not have been executed at the time of his death, he commands all his wool, and all his other chattels and store, live and dead, with all his vessels and furniture, gold, silver and gilt, (excepting only the ornaments for the chapel which he has given and delivered to the college of Arundel during his life, and which are to remain there in perpetuity) to be sold by his executors, and the produce, or so much of it as shall be necessary, to be applied to that purpose. He then gives some directions relative to the college of Arundel which will be inserted under that head, and proceeds to the following bequests. To the priory of Lewes he leaves four hundred marks, to be employed "in aid and encrease of the song-money for the monks, and in amendment of their eating and drinking on the anniversaries of his father, mother, and wife," for whom, as well as for himself and his children, they are enjoined to pray: To the cathedral church of Chichester one

^a "mye mill marcs."

hundred pounds : To the abbey of Hagmond, in Shropshire, one hundred marks : To all whom he may have injured, or who may possess any claims upon him, and by name to the abbot and convent of Fescamp for the purchase of the manor of Bury, if not previously liquidated, so much as his executors shall find necessary to satisfy their respective demands. To his very dear wife, Philippa, he bequeaths the blue bed of tapestry, with the several arms of himself and her worked thereon ; the bed of red and pale blue which was made for ship-board ; a bed of black silk, with the furniture belonging to each of these three ; and whatever other beds she had, at the period of her marriage with him. To the same person he gives the great suit of hangings lately made in London of blue tapestry, and ornamented with red roses intermixed with the arms of himself and of his three sons, the Earl Marshal, the Lord Charleton, and Monsieur William Beauchamp ;^a the furniture for the chapel which he has packed up ? (“ q’ estoit trusse ove moy”) together with the lesser antependium of black silk, and its several appendages ; two silver pots, each containing two quarts ; two drinking cups of silver gilt, besides her own cup called “ Bealchier ;” twelve silver dishes, twelve silver spoons, the two salt-cellars of silver gilt which she gave him as a new-year’s-gift at “ chastel Philipp,” and two other lesser ones of plain silver, one with a cover, and the other without. To

^a The Earl Marshal, was Thomas, Lord Mowbray, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, second husband of the Earl’s eldest daughter, Elizabeth : the Lord Charleton was John Charleton, Lord Powis, who married the youngest daughter, Alice : and William Beauchamp was Lord Bergavenny, who espoused Joan, the second daughter.

his same wife also he leaves two silver candlesticks with high feet, for supper in winter, his escutcheons with three quarterings pendant therefrom, and the rims gilt and embattled; a pair of basins of silver gilt, adorned with his arms; two basins and two ewers bound with silver; a pair of basins in which she is accustomed to wash before dinner and supper; three dozen porringers for the kitchen, two dozen saucers, and four chargers all of silver. To her, moreover, are bequeathed the female head-dresses both of pearls and other ornaments, which he has given to her during his life, and which, at her death, are to be equally divided between his daughter, Charleton, and his two sons, Richard and Thomas, who, "if God should spare their lives, are likely to marry." To his son, Richard, he assigns his chapel, with all its furniture of red velvet embroidered with angels and archangels; a vestment bound with red silk and ornamented with white roses; his large bed, with all the furniture for the blue and white chamber; a red standard (four post) bed, called 'Clove;' the silk bed having a half canopy embroidered with the arms of Arundel and Warren, together with all the furniture for that and the preceding; the great suit of hangings with the arms of Arundel and Warren quarterly; the screen of arras^a which belongs to the wainscotted chamber at Arundel; and a portion of all such vessels, whether belonging to the chapel or the household (except what he has given to the college), as his executors shall not find it necessary to sell for the liquidation of the forementioned debts. "And," continues the testator, "because Richard is

^a "dorcer," and sometimes "doser, d'arras:" evidently so called from its being placed at the *back* of the persons assembled.

my heir, I desire that his share of the said vessels be larger than that of any other of my children." To Thomas, his son, he bequeaths an annuity of £100, together with the manors of Bignor, Sullington, and Shopwick, to himself and the heirs male of his body, and, in default of these, to the lords of Arundel. He leaves to him also a vestment bound with white diapered silk, which was made at the same time as the late antependium of roses; his standard bed of blue silk embroidered with griffins, with a whole canopy; the bed of red and blue satin with a half canopy, and all the furniture belonging to it; a small screen of arras, partly embroidered with gold, which Mons. William Brian gave him; a great suit of hangings, embroidered with "babweynes,"^a with his arms in the middle of the borders and in the "bittiz," which had formerly been at Ryegate; and of the silver vessels belonging to the several offices of the household so many as the discretion of his executors should deem consistent with the former dispositions of his will. To his very dear daughter of Charleton he bequeaths a small gold enamelled tablet of two leaves, with the representation of our Lady's incarnation within: To his daughter Elizabeth a "nouche" adorned with lions and crowns (which was given to him by his dear son, her husband) together with another similar "nouche" set with roses and pearls: To his daughter of Charleton his bed of red silk with a whole canopy, which is usually at Ryegate, with all its furniture: To his daughter Mareschal (Elizabeth, wife of the

^a "Babeins, levres de certains animaux:" Lacombe:—Quære, faces, or heads?—Nichols, apud Royal and Noble Wills.—The word "Bittiz," which immediately follows, is not known.

Earl Marshal) his bed of arras, and all the tapestry of the same manufacture, which he possessed when the said bed was made for him, excepting only the three screens of arras already disposed of: And to his daughter, Margaret, his blue bed, which was formerly in London, with all its furniture. To the same Margaret he also assigns an annuity of one hundred marks payable "until she shall be reasonably married," and a further sum of one thousand marks, to be encreased, at the discretion of his executors, to fifteen hundred, in aid of her settlement in life. To his very dear and honoured brother, the archbishop of York (afterwards of Canterbury), he gives his gilt and enamelled cup, with the stag on its cover, "in remembrance," as he says, "of me and of my soul." To his sister, Joan, wife of the Earl of Hereford, he leaves his cup adorned with hearts; and to his sister, Alice, Countess of Kent, his cup ornamented with trefoils; "that is," he adds, "provided they are kind ('naturelx'), and such as in reason they are bound to prove themselves, in furthering the accomplishment of this my will." To his mother of Norfolk^a he bequeaths a cross of gold in a red leathern case, together with an Agnus Dei of enamelled gold, adorned, on one side, with the coronation (of Christ by the Jews), and, on the other, with a figure of St. Francis and seventeen pearls. To his niece, Eleanor, Countess of Gloucester, as a re-

^a "The Duchess of Norfolk was the grand mother of his son-in-law. A custom still prevails in the north, for parents, whose children have intermarried, to call themselves brothers and sisters: so that he here calls the Duchess his mother, because she was mother to his *so called* sister, the mother of his son-in-law." Nichols, *Royal and Noble Wills*, p. 125. note.

membrance of the testator, and in the hope that she will assist his executors, he gives a small gold enamelled tablet, ornamented with trefoils, having, within it, a crucifix, and, on the top, the coronation (of Christ by the Jews). To the abbey of Robertsbridge, for the support of their sea walls, he leaves £20. : To the priory of Ely, for a new altar, £16. 13s. 4d. : To the monks of Westminster, £40. : To each of the three houses of Canterbury, St. Edmundsbury, and St. John of Beverley, £40. : To each of his servants, according to their respective services and the remuneration they shall already have received, a sum to be determined by his executors : and to his confessor, Thomas Ashebourne, who is entreated to have his soul in remembrance, one hundred marks. He then makes some provisions for the payment of his debts and the fulfilment of his father's will, and proceeds to ordain that, in case his heir shall not have attained his full age, the coronet bible in two volumes, a pair of decretals in french, a large pair of gold Pater-nosters, with a large gold clasp, and certain other jewels and relics contained in a small white coffer bound with silver and ornamented with massive gilt lions, all of which were bequeathed by his father to him and to his heirs after his decease, to remain for ever from heir to heir, lords of Arundel, shall, immediately after his death, be deposited by his executors in some secure place, and there preserved, to be delivered to his said heir, at the termination of his minority. To that heir he then addresses himself in a long and energetic charge. He exhorts him to understand what belongs to his condition, to consult the welfare of his soul, as well by the discreet governance of his person, as by the exact fulfilment of

the dying injunctions of his father and his grandfather : and he concludes the document by enumerating some minor bequests of cups, ewers, and a few other articles, which he assigns to eight of the twelve persons to whom he entrusts the execution of his will. Amongst the latter, the only parties belonging to his own family are his brother, the archbishop, and his son-in-law, Charleton, Lord Powis.

The Earl of Arundel was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was united in 1359, about the thirteenth year of his age,^a was Elizabeth, daughter of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton : by her he had issue, three sons and four daughters,—Richard and William, who died before him, Thomas, who succeeded him in the earldom, Elizabeth, Joan, Margaret, and Alice, who all married into distinguished families.^b His second wife was Philippa, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and widow of John, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke. His union with this lady was contracted without the royal license ; and a fine of four hundred marks was, consequently, imposed on him as the penalty of his offence.^c By her he had no children.

After his death, his estates appear to have been partitioned and alienated in the following manner : The lordships of Bromfield and Yale, with other extensive

^a Pat. 33 Ed. 3. p. 1. m. 2. settles the manor of Medmenham, valued at £50. per annum, together with a rent charge of £206. 13s. 4d. payable from the castle and manor of Chirke, on Richard Fitzalan, and Elizabeth Bohun, his wife. She died April 3, 1385. Regist. Priorat. de Lewes.

^b Dugd. Bar. I. 320. For the several marriages of these daughters see the genealogical table. ^c Pat. 15. Ric. 2. p. 1. m. 6.

properties, were annexed to the principality of Chester, which Richard seized into his own hands;^a and the manors of Milham and Boston in Norfolk, with the hundreds of Landiche and South Greenhow, were bestowed, first on Edward, Duke of York, and afterwards on John, Duke of Lancaster.^b To Thomas, Earl Marshal and Nottingham, the Earl's son-in-law, the castle, town, and lordship of Lewes, with various manors in Sussex and Surrey (excepting, however, the castle of Ryegate), the castle and town of Castle-Acre, in Norfolk, and divers castles, lands, and manors in the counties of Buckingham, Rutland, Northampton, Warwick, and Worcester, were granted:^c To Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the manor of Worthe, of Kingston near Lewes, of Kenninghall in Norfolk, and other possessions were assigned:^d And to John, Duke of Exeter and Earl of Huntingdon, the Castle, honour, lordship, and town of Arundel, with all their lands, liberties, and other appurtenances, in the counties of Surrey, Sussex, Essex, and Herts, and with all the goods, vessels, and utensils in the said Castle, were given. The honour, Castle, lordship and borough of Arundel were valued at £600. per annum.^e

^a Rot. Parl. III. 435. Wals. 355.

^b Original, 21 Ric. 2. rot. 75. Pat. ejusd. an. rot. 1.

^c Pat. 21 Ric. 2. p. 1. m. 4. ^d Ibid. m. 11.

^e Pat. 21 Ric. 2. p. 1. m. 8. and p. 3. m. 1. Grants in the Surveyor General's Office, p. 189. This valuation Mr. Dallaway has erroneously referred to the previous forfeiture, by Edmund Earl of Arundel, in 1326. Rape of Arund. 124, New Edit.

XV.

THOMAS FITZALAN, SEVENTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

If the vengeance of Richard were satisfied by the execution of the last Earl, his apprehensions from the resentment of that nobleman's family were not allayed. Thomas, the second and only surviving son, had been born on the thirteenth of October, 1381;^a he was now about to enter his seventeenth year, and, irritated both by his father's wrongs and his own injuries, was not unlikely to become a formidable instrument in the hands of the disaffected.^b Richard's first step, after the confiscation of his inheritance; was to secure the youthful heir. Fitzalan was seized; and, under the care of John, Duke of Exeter, committed to close confinement within the castle of Ryegate.^c But the vigilance of Sir John Shelley, the governor, was speedily baffled. In the course of a few months, the young nobleman effected his escape to the continent, and, having joined his uncle, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, at Cologne, became an active partisan in those counsels which soon after terminated in the dethronement of the English monarch.^d

On the fourth of July, 1399, Henry, Duke of Lan-

^a Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467.

^b "The kynge kept styll in his wages ten thousande archers night and day, that wayted on him: for, he reputed hymselfe not perfytely sure of his uncles, nor of the lygnage of Arundell." Frois. II. cap. 226.

^c Pat. 21 Ric. 2. p. 2. m. 8.

^d Leland, Collectanea, I. 188. II. 483.

caster, attended by Fitzalan, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, fifteen lances, and a few servants, landed in England to try his fortune against king Richard.^a In little more than a month, the latter had fallen into the hands of his more fortunate opponent; and Fitzalan, whose hatred to the tyrant was not likely to be mitigated by the immediate prospect of revenge, was, in conjunction with the son of the late Duke of Gloucester, appointed to take charge of the royal captive. "Here," said Lancaster, as he delivered the king into their custody: "he was the murderer of your fathers: I expect you to be answerable for his safety."^b The hint was not lost on the excited feelings of the youths. During the journey from Chester to London, the restraints to which the prisoner was subjected bore ample testimony to their zeal in the execution of their commission. If he was protected from the violence, he was not always secured from the insults, of the populace who were permitted to surround him. Guards were placed continually about him: armed men occupied his chamber, and disturbed his rest at night; and the cavalcade that accompanied him on the road resembled that which might have conducted "a thief or a murderer" to justice.^c Before their arrival in London, the death of Gloucester transferred the whole responsibility for the security of the king to Fitzalan. When Richard was committed to the Tower, the heir of Arundel was appointed governor of that fortress: and it is not improbable that, when the dethroned sovereign was sub-

^a Wals. 358.

^b Archæol. XX. 173, 174, note h.

^c MS. Ambassades, apud Archæol. XX. 176. note l. MS. Harl. 1319, *ibid.* p. 375, 376.

sequently removed to Pontefract, he still continued to be held under the same custody.^a

The deposition of Richard was followed by the acknowledgment of Henry Bolingbroke as king. On the thirteenth of October, that prince, by the title of Henry the fourth, was crowned at Westminster; and Fitzalan, who, on the preceding evening, had been created Knight of the Bath, was summoned to officiate in his hereditary capacity of chief Butler.^b On the following morning, the two houses of parliament assembled for the despatch of business. The proceedings of the twenty-first year of the late king were annulled; the attainder of the Earl of Arundel was reversed, and his son, the present adherent of Henry, was restored to all the honours and possessions which had been forfeited by his father. The young Earl, though still a minor, immediately took his seat in parliament, and was amongst the lords, who, in answer to the message of Henry, advised the close and secret imprisonment of the deposed monarch.^c In the

^a Ibid. 196, 287, note m.

^b Anstis, Append. to Observations, N^o. 36. Archæol. XX. 399.

“ Et si estoit grant bouteillier

“ Un, qui fu Conte darondel,

“ Qui est assez jeune et ysnel.”

He put in his claim to act as chief Butler, and “ quia compertum est quod antecessores ipsius Comitis fuerunt in possessione dicti officii, ideo Dn̄us noster Rex, in cujus custodiâ ipse Comes, ratione minoris ætatis suæ, ex tunc existebat, ipsum Comitem ad dictum officium admisit.” Rot. Servitior. ad Coron. Hen. 4. preserved in a MS. volume in the State Paper Office, lettered “ *Coronations, &c. from Ed. 2. to Charles I.*” fol. 27.

^c Rot. Parl. III. 425—427, 435. Pat. 1 Hen. 4. at Norf. House, Lib. A. f. 123. The patent not only orders him to be put in immediate

1400. following January, he joined the king on his march to suppress the insurrection of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, and the other appellant lords; was present at Cirencester, when the rebel forces were defeated; and returned with Henry, to participate in the honours and rejoicings with which the victorious army was received, on its entry into the capital.^a

Among all the insurgents that contributed to harass the first nine years of Henry's government, few were more persevering, none so fortunate, as the person who is generally known by the appellation of Owen Glyndwr, or Glendour. He had been an "apprentice of the law at Westminster;" had subsequently raised himself to the post of an esquire in the service of the late Earl of Arundel;^b and, springing at length into the importance of an independent lord, had obtained the sovereignty of Wales, as the descendant of its ancient kings. Against this chieftain Henry had thrice unsuccessfully led his troops, when he once more determined to make a vigorous effort to restore the authority of the English crown. At Shrewsbury he assembled all the forces he could

1402. muster; and, having ordered Arundel to meet him, invested him with the command of one of the three armies which he had formed, reserved the others for

possession of the property belonging to his late father, notwithstanding any objection that may be raised "*de eo quod nondum ætatem suam probavit, neque ad plenam ætatem suam pervenit,*" but also requires full payment to be made to him of all arrears of rent and other profits which may have accrued since the day on which Henry landed in England.

^a Allen's Extracts from MS. Ambassades, apud Archæol. XX. 219.

^b Leland, Collect. II. 310.

himself and his son, and, at the same moment, entered the Welsh territory in three several directions. But Arundel was not more fortunate than his sovereign had hitherto been; whilst Glyndwr, at whose nativity

“ The frame and the foundation of the earth

“ Shook like a coward,”

belied not the superstition which attributed to him a power over the immaterial world. As the Earl advanced, the enemy had every where disappeared. The storms swept from the hills: the rain poured down in torrents; and Glyndwr, whether he could “ call spirits from the vasty deep,” and be obeyed, or possessed no power over the invisible agents which he was supposed to command, had, at least, the satisfaction to see the elements combined in his defence, and the army of the invader compelled to retreat before the tempests of heaven.^a

In this contest with the horrors of the season, Arundel shared his defeat with his sovereign: he was soon after more successful, where the glory was entirely his own. In November, 1405, Montmorency, one of the marshals of France, landed at Milford Haven with a force of twelve thousand men. He had been sent by the French monarch to the assistance of Glyndwr, and had already taken Carmarthen, when he appeared before the walls of Haverford west. This town was under the com-

1405.

^a Otterborne, 235, 236. Rymer, VIII. 271. It was, probably, before this attempt to suppress the rebellion of Glyndwr, that Henry issued the commission, at which Arundel presided, for the trial of that chieftain's offences. When the expedition had failed, Henry consoled himself by laying the report of the commissioners before parliament, and calling for fresh enactments of severity against the devoted inhabitants of Wales. Rot. Parl. III. 508, 509. IV. 377.

mand of the Earl of Arundel. To the summons of the Frenchman an answer of defiance was returned: the assault of the besiegers was as vigorously resisted by the besieged; and, in the course of a few days, the enemy were compelled to retire, with a loss, which far exceeded every advantage they had hitherto obtained. Before the end of the year, they had retreated to their homes.^a

From this scene of military achievement Arundel was summoned to take one of the principal parts in a transaction of a more domestic nature. In the course of the year, he had solicited the hand of Beatrix, the elder of the two daughters of John the first, king of Portugal, by a lady named Donna Agnes Perez. It is not known that he ever visited that country: but he was the second cousin both of his own sovereign, and of the Portuguese queen, and it is not improbable that in this relationship the idea of the subsequent alliance originated. At all events, the suit was favourably received by John, who, through his ambassadors, proposed the matter to the English monarch, and obtained the consent of that prince to the projected union. During the month of October, the negotiations preparatory to the match were concluded. John engaged to give a dower of fifty thousand crowns with his daughter: of this sum half was to be paid on the day on which Arundel should receive the lady, and for the remainder substantial security was to be provided in England. The Earl, on his part, so it appears, was to conduct the princess from Portugal at his own expense. She landed, probably, in the early part of November: preparations for the wedding were immediately made; and, on the twenty-sixth of the

^a Hall, 25, 26. Edit. 1809.

same month, 1405, the ceremony of the nuptials was solemnly performed at London, in the presence of the king, the queen, and most of the attendants of the court.^a

^a Wals. 374. MS. Cotton, B. 1. f. 30, 32. The latter contains four letters, relative to this marriage, which have been published, either wholly or in substance, by Dr. Bliss, in Blore's *Monumental Remains*. The first is written by the Earl himself, the others are addressed by John, the father of Beatrix, to king Henry IV. : but the only information which they add to that given in the text is, first, that, in order to meet the expenses of his marriage, Arundel had been compelled to borrow a sum of two thousand marks from Henry, of which, "in consequence of the destruction of his estates in Wales," both himself and his father-in-law afterwards sought, and probably obtained, the remission ; secondly, that the security for the unpaid moiety of the lady's dower was advanced by the merchants of Portugal ; that it was furnished in the shape of merchandize, which they consigned to this country ; and that, for its protection, the letters of safe conduct to the Portuguese merchants, which are in Rymer (VIII. 352), were issued at the special solicitation of Don John. Dr. Bliss has assigned the marriage to the year 1404, and the letters to that and the succeeding year. The letters themselves, however, bear no date beyond that of the month ; and I have, therefore, preferred the authority of Walsingham and the other historians, who fix the celebration of the nuptials in November, 1405.

The history of Beatrix may here be shortly adverted to. She was a natural daughter of Don John, but, from her arms, as borne on her seal, and still partially visible on her tomb, it may be clearly inferred that she was acknowledged by her father, and, as well as her brother, Alphonso, Duke of Braganza, admitted to the rights of a legitimate child. The shield carries no mark of bastardy : on the contrary, it displays the true coat of Portugal, with its border of towers, impaled with the quarterings of Fitzalan and Warren. On the death of her first husband, the Earl of Arundel, his heirs appear to have denied her right of dower, and to have ejected her, as an alien, from the estates which she held in Wales. In 1421, therefore, she petitioned Henry the fifth for the privileges of a natural-born subject : her prayer was

From this period, with the exception of his vote in favour of the two acts of succession which Henry promulgated, immediately accorded by the king in parliament; and she recovered the dower, originally assigned to her from the possessions of her late husband (Rot. Parl. IV. 130.). In 1432, she obtained license to marry John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon (Pat. 11 Hen. 6. p. 1. m. 14.); a union which is proved to have taken place as well by an entry in the Register of Lewes (f. 108.), as by the inquisitions taken on the death of John, Earl of Arundel, in 1435 (Esch. 13 Hen. 6. N^o. 37.), in all which she is described as the "wife of John, Earl of Huntingdon." She died, without issue, at Bourdeaux, October 23, 1439, and was buried at Arundel, near her first husband (Inquis. p. m. 18 Hen. 6. N^o. 28. and Regist. Lewes, f. 108.).

There was another lady named Beatrix, a native also of Portugal, living in England at the same time. She has been generally confounded with the preceding: she has been always represented as the daughter of John, king of Portugal; but the enquiries, lately instituted on the subject, satisfactorily prove that both these notions are erroneous. She was of a noble Portuguese family, whose arms she bore: but she quartered also the royal arms, to which her family was, probably, entitled, by a former marriage with the crown; and hence has arisen the mistake which has described her as a daughter of Don John. She was married first to Sir Gilbert Talbot, by whom she had one daughter, Ancoret, born in 1417 (Inquis. p. m. 7 Hen. 5. N^o. 68.). On his death, two years afterwards, she obtained letters of naturalization (Ibid. and Claus. 7 Hen. 5. m. 6.): was subsequently united to Thomas Fettiplace, of East Shefford, in Berkshire, and, at her death, Dec. 25, 1447, left William Fettiplace, her son and heir, twenty years old (Inquis. p. m. 26 Hen. 6. N^o. 7.). She was buried at East Shefford, where her tomb, but without any inscription, still exists. Her arms are known by those of Sir Gilbert Talbot, who impaled, as her coat, 1 and 4, *Portugal*, without the border: 2 and 3, azure, five crescents in saltire or.

See an excellent article on the subject of these two ladies, in the first number of the 'Collectanea Topographica,' p. 80; where an engraving from each of their seals is given.

posed to the consideration of parliament, in 1406, and 1406.
 the still fruitless renewal of his military operations against
 Glyndwr, three years later,^a we hear little of the Earl of 1409.
 Arundel for some time. The murder of the Duke of
 Orleans, brother to the French king, in 1407, had
 thrown all France into a ferment; and the Duke of
 Burgundy, the author of the assassination, in order to
 strengthen himself against the vengeance of the house
 of Orleans and its allies, had applied for assistance to the
 English monarch. Motives both of policy and revenge
 prompted Henry to listen to the request. In the course of
 the autumn, 1411, Arundel was despatched, with a body 1411.
 of one thousand archers and eight hundred men-at-arms,
 to his support; and, having joined him at Arras, crossed
 the country through Breteuille, Beauvais, and Gisors,
 to Pontoise; refreshed his troops there, during some
 days, and, on the evening of the twenty-third of October,
 made his entry into the capital. The whole strength
 of the enemy lay, at the moment, in the neighbouring
 towns of St. Denis, and St. Cloud. On the ninth of
 November, it was resolved to dispossess them. Arundel
 led his men to the bridge of St. Cloud, which, after a
 sharp skirmish, was taken: nine hundred of the enemy
 fell in its defence: the town soon after surrendered,
 and five hundred prisoners, with an immense quantity
 of booty and above a thousand horses, fell into the
 hands of the victors. The Duke of Orleans and his
 party, disheartened by this loss, immediately evacuated
 St. Denis; and Burgundy, no longer dreading the power
 of his opponents, dismissed the English general with

^a Rot. Parl. III. 576. 582. Rymer, VIII. 588.

many sumptuous tokens of his gratitude.^a Soon after his return to England, the latter was admitted to the order of the Garter.^b

1413. The death of Henry IV. in March, 1413, caused no diminution of the favour in which Arundel was held at court. In the same year, the first of Henry the fifth, he was created constable of Dover castle, and warden of the Cinque Ports, with the additional appointment of Lord High Treasurer of England.^c Two years
1415. later, he joined the army which Henry conducted to France for the purpose of asserting his claim to the French throne, and was present at the siege and capture of Harfleur.^d But the dysentery, which ravaged the camp on that occasion, was about to number him among its victims. Finding himself attacked by the disease, he requested permission to return to England, and appears to have retained sufficient strength to enable him to reach Arundel. The disorder, however, was too powerful for his constitution. Though he struggled against the attack for a short period, it soon became evident that he must sink under its violence; and, on the thirteenth of October, the very day on which he completed his thirty-fourth year, he expired in the Castle of Arundel.^e His will is dated three days previous. By

^a Wals. 380. Johnes' Monstrelet, II. 307—346.

^b Ashmole, Hist. of Gart. 708.

^c Pat. 1 Hen. 5. p. 1. m. 37. ^d Wals. 391.

^e Wals. *ibid.* Inquis. capt. apud Arundel, 22 Octob. 3 Hen. 5.
 “Thomas Comes Arund. et Suŕr. obiit 3^o. Id. Octob. A^o. gratiæ 1415,
 “ætatis vero suæ xxxiiii; eodem die quo natus est in mundo, anno
 “revoluto: jacetque Arundell in collegio coram summo altari.” Rot.
 Fundator. Lewes.

it he orders his body to be interred, and a tomb to be erected, in the collegiate chapel at Arundel: he provides for a monument to be raised to the memory of his father; and leaves various sums for the liquidation of his debts, and the endowment of some religious and charitable institutions in Arundel.^a The latter will hereafter be noticed under their respective heads: his tomb will be described in the account of the collegiate chapel.

Thomas, Earl of Arundel, had no issue. By virtue, therefore, of the entail, created by his grandfather, in 1347, the Castle, honour, and lordship of Arundel passed to his second cousin, John Fitzalan, Baron Maltravers: his other estates, including the castles of Lewes and Ryegate, with all the property belonging to the earldom of Surrey, were divided among his three surviving sisters, Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk, Joan, Baroness Bergavenny, and Margaret, wife of Sir Rowland Lenthall.^b The title of Earl of Surrey, as the reader will remember, fell into abeyance between the same parties, but was afterwards granted to the descendant of the eldest.^c

^a Dugd. Bar. I. 320.

^b Pat. 3 Hen. 5. p. 1. m. 5. and 19. dors. Esch. 4 Hen. 5. n. 54. From the latter document it appears, that the property divided among the coheirs comprised the castles of Lewes and Ryegate, together with those of Dynas-Bran and Lions, in the marches of Wales; fifteen manors in Sussex, two manors in Surrey, two manors and two hundreds in Norfolk, six manors in Essex, one in Herts, three in Wilts, five in Salop, and thirteen in the marches of Wales, besides the lordships of Bromfield and Yale.

^c See page 236, note c, ante.

CHAPTER VII.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE EARLS OF ARUNDEL.—HOUSE OF FITZALAN, FROM ITS UNION WITH THE FAMILY OF MALTRAVERS, TO ITS EXTINCTION IN THE PERSON OF HENRY, ITS FOURTEENTH EARL.

XVI.

JOHN FITZALAN, EIGHTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

THE family of Maltravers was of considerable importance as early, at least, as the reign of Henry the first. One of its members is known to have been an attendant on the court of that monarch: three others are mentioned in the time of his immediate successors, Stephen and Henry the second; and a fifth is numbered among the adherents of the barons, in their resistance to the tyranny of John.^a The last died in 1296, leaving one son John,^b who was attached to the party of Isabel and Mortimer, during the latter years of Edward the second. He was summoned to parliament among the barons, in 1327 (1 Ed. 3.),^c and was, at the same time, charged with the custody of the deposed monarch:^d but, having been convicted as an accomplice in the plot successfully laid to bring the Earl of Kent to the

^a Dugd. Bar. II. 101.

^b Esch. 25 Ed. 1. N^o 33.

^c Append. to first Peerage Rep. p. 374.

^d Knyght. 2551. Murim. 69.

scaffold, was compelled to seek protection from the punishment of a traitor, by a precipitate flight into Germany.^a By Edward the third, however, he was subsequently permitted to return; and a pardon, soon after pronounced in parliament, readmitted him to the dignities which he had previously enjoyed.^b He died in 1364: his son had deceased in 1349: and his granddaughter, Eleanor, therefore, the wife of John Fitzalan, son to Earl Richard, whose death occurred in 1376, was found to be one of his coheirs.^c Eleanor, by her marriage with Fitzalan, had four sons and one daughter: but her husband, who had been employed in various military and naval expeditions, was, in 1379, prematurely drowned in the Irish sea; and her eldest son, John, was, in consequence, only fifteen years of age when he succeeded to the estates of his family.^d Of the latter but little is known.^e In 1383, he fought with the army in Scotland, and, five years later, accompanied Richard, Earl of Arundel, in his successful operations

^a Rot. Parl. II. 53. Murim. 71. Hume and others, copying Moor's account, represent him as one of the actual murderers of Edward the second: the roll, however, as Dr. Lingard has observed, seems to disprove the assertion. Hist. Eng. II. 552, note.

^b Rot. Parl. II. 243.

^c Esch. 38 Ed. 3 N^o. 37.

^d Wals. 232—234. Esch. 3 Ric. 2. N^o. 1.

^e He is entirely omitted by Dugdale, who assigns the few of his actions, that have been recorded, to his son; marries Eleanor Maltravers to the nephew, instead of to the brother, of the Earl who died in 1397; and makes John, who succeeded to the Castle of Arundel, the son, and not the grandson, of that lady. The consequence of this is, that the same person who, he tells us, was fifteen years of age, in 1379 (3 Ric. 2.), is, a few lines farther, represented by him to have been only twenty, in 1405 (6 Hen. 4.). See Baronage I. 321.

against the western coast of France :^a but an early grave was destined to close over him, and the promise of future fame, which his youthful career exhibited, was blighted before he had attained his twenty-seventh year. At his death, in 1391, he left, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh le Despencer, three sons, and one daughter,^b of whom John, the eldest, is the subject of the present notice.

Of John Fitzalan, afterwards Earl of Arundel, the accounts which remain are extremely imperfect. He
 1387. was born in 1387.^c Before he had completed his fifth
 1391. year, the death of his father rendered him the inheritor of the patrimonial possessions of his family ; and the subsequent demise of his grandmother, Eleanor
 1405. Maltravers, in January, 1405, not only encreased his property by the addition of her jointure, but also transferred to him the barony of Maltravers, with its appendant dignity, which she had obtained as the surviving heir of her father.^d In 1415, he appears to have
 1415. attended Henry the fifth in his expedition to France, and probably assisted, with his relative, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in the siege and reduction of Harfleur.^e The decease of that nobleman, at the latter end of

^a Rot. Scot. 7 Ric. 2. N^o. 3. and Rot. Franc. 12 Ric. 2. m. 15.

^b Esch. 14 Ric. 2.

^c Ibid. and Esch. 4 Hen. 5. n. 54. The Escheat Roll, 6 Hen. 4. n. 31. says that he was twenty years of age in 1404 : but this must be an error.

^d Esch. 6 Hen. 4. N^o. 31.

^e Rot. Franc. 3 Hen. 5. m. 14. contains indentures, by which " John, Lord Maltravers," engages to serve Henry for the space of one year, in France, and to bring with him twenty, one knight, eighteen squires, and forty archers, who are to be supported at the king's charge. Dated, April 4.

the same year, opened for him the succession to the Castle and honour of Arundel. Early in the following spring, he obtained livery of the property; and, in September, was summoned to parliament as Earl of Arundel.^a He was not, however, permitted to exercise the privileges of his new dignity. The proceedings which, the reader will recollect, were instituted by Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, for the purpose of dispossessing him of the Castle, caused the future suspension of his writs: a protracted litigation of nearly five years left the validity of his tenure still undecided; and it does not appear that he was ever afterwards allowed to take his seat in the councils of the nation.

But his military talents were not withdrawn from the service of his country. In 1418, we again find him in France, accompanying Henry in his victorious career through upper and lower Normandy; and Cherbourg, Pont de l'Arche, and Rouen, with the other towns that surrendered to the English arms, had each, probably, in succession, an opportunity of witnessing the valour of his department.^b

During the last three years of his life, nothing is related of this Earl. He died on the twenty-first of April, 1421, leaving issue by his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beverston, in Gloucestershire, two sons, John and William, who both ultimately obtained the earldom.^c He was buried in the chapel of our Lady, adjoining the choir of the collegiate church of Arundel, where his tomb, which, as the reader

^a Esch. 4 Hen. 5. N^o. 54. Claus. ejusd. an. m. 16. dors. See page 101, note, ante.

^b Rot. Franc. 6 Hen. 5. m. 4.

^c Esch. 9 Hen. 5. N^o. 51.

will see in a future chapter, formerly recorded his prowess in the French wars, still exists. His widow, who survived him till 1455, and was twice remarried, was afterwards, in pursuance of the injunctions contained in her will, interred in the same grave.^a

XVII.

JOHN FITZALAN, NINTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

John Fitzalan, seventeenth Earl of Arundel, was the elder of the two sons of the last Earl. He was born
 1408. about the year 1408; and, at the death of his father, consequently, passed as a minor into wardship of the crown.^b He had scarcely completed his eighteenth
 1426. year when he was summoned, as “the Lord Mautravers,” to receive the order of knighthood, in company with the young king, Henry the sixth, from the hands of the regent, Bedford.^c The ceremony was performed at Leicester, on the nineteenth of May, 1426: and, in

^a Claus. 34 Hen. 6. m. 4. and 15. Her will, which is dated July 20, 1455, and appears to have been proved on the twenty-third of the following month, is printed in Nicolas’s *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 277. It contains various bequests of cups, ewers, trinkets, and money, to different members of the several families, with which she was connected by birth or marriage, together with the assignment of an annual sum for the support of a chantry at Arundel. The part, which refers to the latter, will be inserted in the account of the collegiate chapel. ^b Esch. 9 Hen. 5. N^o. 51. Rot. Parl. V. 397.

^c Rymer, X. 356. Anstis, *Append. to Observ.* N^o. 42. Mr. Dallaway says that he was made a Knight *Banneret* on this occasion: but Anstis has shewn that the creation was of Knights of the Bath. *Observ.* p. 45.

less than four years, we find the youthful nobleman entering on that brief, yet splendid, career of military enterprise, which, though but imperfectly described by our own historians, was long remembered with astonishment and awe, in the country that witnessed his achievements. It was in April, 1430, that Henry embarked at Dover, for the purpose of being crowned king of France. Arundel had just engaged himself to the service of the French war, and, with a train of two knights, fifty-seven men-at-arms, and one hundred and eighty archers, he now hastened, in the retinue of his sovereign, to seek the theatre of his future glory.^a When the royal party landed at Calais, the English authority was already declining in the French territory. The siege of Orleans had been raised, Charles had been crowned at Rheims, and the enthusiasm, awakened in the country by the exploits of the Maid of Orleans, had shaken the very throne of which Henry was about to take possession. Yet the war was still maintained with unequal success. In May, it was resolved, if possible, to reduce the city of Compiègne, and Arundel, in company with the united army, appeared beneath its walls, if not to succeed in compelling its surrender, at least to assist in capturing the formidable heroine, by whose means the fortunes of France may be truly said to have been redeemed.^b In December, 1431, the Earl was present at the coronation of Henry, in Paris; and, in the grand tournament which took place on the following day, was declared, in conjunction with the Bastard de St. Pol, to have won the prize from every other competitor.^c

^a Autogr. penes Cler. Pell. cited by Dugdale, Bar. I. 322. Monstrellet, VI. 349. ^b Hall, 156. Edit. 1809. ^c Monstrel. VII. 51.

1432.

But it was not in the festivities of a court that the spirit of Arundel found its congenial atmosphere. Whilst the revelry consequent on the coronation was still in progress, Boussac, the marshal of France, trusting to the inclemency of the season and the inactivity of the English, had taken possession of Beauvais, and from that city was preparing to extend his operations through the neighbouring province of Normandy. The intelligence of this event reached the Earl in Paris. Hastily summoning a body of two thousand three hundred men, he explained to them his object, and, with a determination to arrest the progress, or frustrate the designs, of the enemy, marched directly towards their quarters at Beauvais. Having gained the immediate vicinity of the town, he ordered his troops to halt. He then detached a body of light horse sufficiently strong to remove the danger of suspicion, gave them the instructions necessary for the regulation of their motions, and, directing them to march forward and menace the garrison, took up a position, with the remainder of his little army, in a concealed spot in the neighbourhood. As he had expected, the French were not backward in accepting the challenge of the invaders. No sooner had the English horsemen appeared, than it was resolved to meet them beneath the walls. In a moment, the gates were thrown open; the whole disposable force of the town poured forth to repel the insolence of its enemies; and, in a short time, a regular engagement had commenced. At first, the English, as if to prove the sincerity of their purpose, resolutely maintained their ground. By degrees, however, they began to falter, then to recede. First one column, and then a second, was broken. Line after

line continued to give way, till at length the whole were mingled in one precipitous flight. Now commenced the development of the Earl's plan. The French, deceived by the apparent earnestness of their opponents, little imagined that assistance was at hand, and eagerly followed in pursuit of the flying squadrons. Before, however, they had proceeded far, the pretended fugitives suddenly faced about: at the same instant, Arundel sprung from the ambuscade in which he had awaited the arrival of the enemy; and, with his men fresh for the conflict, attacked the disordered masses of the pursuers in every direction. The fate of the latter was speedily determined. Unprepared for an assault as impetuous as it was unexpected, they sunk, almost without resistance, under the swords of their assailants. Of the troops that had issued from the town scarce a man returned to recount the tale of their disaster: Saintrilles, one of the most distinguished generals of France, was taken; Boussac himself narrowly escaped the same misfortune; and the force, that had been destined to over-run Normandy, was annihilated in the result of a single encounter.^a

In the mean time, king Henry had been conducted from Paris to Rouen, and Arundel, when he rejoined his sovereign in that city, was appointed to the command of its castle.^b An occurrence, which signaled the very commencement of his charge, deserves to be recorded. A Bearnois, named Audebœuf, who belonged

^a Fabyan, 602. Edit. 1811. Hall, 164. Saintrilles was immediately exchanged for the celebrated Lord Talbot, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Patay, more than eighteen months before. Ib.

^b "Joannes Comes Arundell, capitaneus castri Rothmagensis." Rot. Franc. 11 Hen. 6. m. 13.

to the garrison, had for some time been engaged in a correspondence with the French general, Boussac, and had at length succeeded in admitting one hundred and twenty of the enemy into the castle. It was midnight, on the third of February: Arundel and the greater part of his men were in bed; and all was silent within the walls, when a cry of treason suddenly rung through the fortress. At the sound, the Earl leapt from his couch, but it was only to find that the work of the traitor had been too effectually accomplished. The garrison were flying in every direction: the castle was already in the hands of its assailants; and his only resource, therefore, was, to escape into the town, and summon the inhabitants to his assistance. His call was readily obeyed. In the course of a few minutes, a strong body was collected, and in full march to dispossess the enemy: but, though the gates were easily forced, the combat was resolutely maintained within, and morning broke upon the strife before either party could claim the advantage. At length, the French, disappointed of their expected succours, began to fail, and, to prolong the contest when they could no longer hope for victory, retired in a body to the great tower. Here, during twelve days, they were able to bid defiance to the attacks of their adversaries, till famine at last effected their reduction, and placed them at the mercy of the English. They were immediately committed to close confinement: Audebœuf was condemned to undergo the punishment of a traitor; and one hundred and fifty of the inhabitants of Rouen, who had, probably, been engaged in the conspiracy, were publicly beheaded in the city.^a

^a Monstrel. VII. 59—63.

This event is said to have hastened the return of Henry to England: it was certainly not without its proportionate effect in forwarding the interests of the Earl. His bravery, indeed, in the hour of peril, added to the successful issue of his exertions, and the magnitude of his former services, was well calculated to win the favour of the English government: and accordingly we find, not only that he was forthwith created Knight of the Garter,^a but that, when, in the following year, he determined, by demanding his privileges as Earl of Arundel, to revive the proceedings on that subject, which his father's death and his own minority had suspended, the recommendations of the regent, Bedford, were strenuously, and not ineffectually, urged in behalf of the speedy settlement of his claim. With the details of the suit instituted on that occasion, as far at least as they are known, the reader is already acquainted. The cause, which had been pending during the space of eighteen years, was brought to a conclusion: a fervent but merited tribute of acknowledgment was paid to the importance of his achievements both in the council and the field; and a solemn decree, pronounced in parliament, admitted him to the enjoyment of those rights which were declared to belong to him, as the lawful possessor of the Castle and honour of Arundel.^b To the dignity, of which he thus obtained the recognition, was shortly after added that of Duke of Touraine, conferred on him by patent from the Duke of Bedford.^c

1433.

Meanwhile, the Earl, who had entrusted this affair to the management of his friends in England, was steadily engaged in the prosecution of his military duties on the

^a Anstis, Garter, II. 111.

^b See Chapt. IV. ante.

^c Milles, 656.

continent. From the first appearance of Joan d'Arc, indeed, and more particularly after the cruel and impolitic execution of that heroine, the opposition of the French to the dominion of their foreign rulers had been rapidly gaining strength, and it required, therefore, all the talents of such a leader as Arundel, to make even a momentary resistance to the gigantic power, that was now brought into operation against the English. Hence, he had not been suffered to remain long inactive in his command at Rouen. Early in the year, the necessity of weakening the enemy in the northern provinces had called him into arms, and the defeat of the insurgent natives, the seizure of their towns, and the reduction of their strongest fortresses were the consequences, which, during the summer, continued to distinguish his career. The castles of Bon-Moulins and Orle, with the town of Louviers in Normandy, had already been compelled to surrender, when he resolved to undertake the siege of St. Selerin. From before the walls of this place he had been obliged to retire, only a few weeks previous, and, in returning, therefore, to invest it with a more powerful force, it may be easily imagined that he came with a determination to revenge his former discomfiture, by making the inhabitants experience the full weight of his resentment. Nor was the obstinacy of their resistance calculated to mitigate his anger. Confiding in the strength of their fortifications, they still resolved not to submit without a struggle. Assault after assault was successfully repelled; and three months were consumed without producing any effect. At length, however, the good fortune of Arundel prevailed. An attack, directed with more than ordinary vigour, placed him in possession

of the town, and the garrison, consisting of more than eight hundred men, were immediately put to the sword. The severity of this example terrified the neighbouring fortresses. Sille-le-Guillaume opened its gates at his approach: the castles of Mellaie and St. Laurence submitted without opposition; and the whole province of Maine was, by the commencement of autumn, reduced to the dominion of the English.^a

In Normandy, however, the spirit of resistance was still alive. The people, unawed by the misfortunes of their neighbours, had determined, if possible, to free themselves from the control of their foreign masters; and a large body of peasantry, collected from various quarters, rose upon the English garrisons, and proclaimed their unalterable purpose of driving the invaders from their shores. The insurgents were marching upon Caen, the capital of lower Normandy, when Arundel was summoned to arrest their progress. At the head of six thousand archers and thirteen hundred light horse, he undertook to intercept them. Having contrived to place the Lord Willoughby, with two thousand of his men, in ambush at an advanced point on the enemy's line of march, he hastened, by a circuitous route, to throw himself and the remainder of his force in the rear of the hostile troops, and thus enclose them between the two divisions. As they approached the spot where Willoughby lay concealed, a signal was given, and that leader suddenly discovered himself in front. At the same moment, the Earl attacked them from behind: in a few minutes their discomfiture was complete: above a thousand of their body had fallen in the first onset; and the

^a Polyd. Virgil, lib. XXIII. p. 614. Hall, 170, 171.

survivors, seeing no hopes of escape, threw down their arms and demanded quarter. The ring-leaders were taken and executed: the rest were dismissed to their homes, and the submission of the Normans was once more renewed.^a

1434. But a premature death was about to deprive his country of the valuable services of the Earl of Arundel. Early in May, 1434, the French had surprised and taken the town of Rue, in Picardy, whence they were enabled to over-run the adjacent countries of Ponthieu, Artois, and the Boulonnois; and the havoc, thus created, induced the regent to adopt some instant measures for the recovery of the place and the relief of the suffering inhabitants. The Earl of Arundel, then quartered near Mantes, was selected for this duty. With a body of eight hundred men he proceeded to Gournay, in Normandy, whence he was instructed to advance through Neuf-châtel and Abbeville, for the purpose of laying siege to Rue. At Gournay, however, he heard that the French had lately repaired and fortified the ancient castle of Gerberoy, between Beauvais and Gournay; and, unwilling to leave a hostile fortress of such importance in his rear, he resolved at once to storm the castle, before he continued his march. At midnight, he led forth his little army from Gournay; and, at eight o'clock the next morning, arrived, with the advanced guard, in sight of the towers of Gerberoy. He had, however, miscalculated the strength of the garrison. Instead of a small and irresolute force, which he had expected to find, a body of three thousand veteran soldiers, under the command of some of the most experienced of

^a Pol. Virg. 614, 615. Hall, 171, 172.

the French generals, was ready to receive him. On his approach, a council of war was held within the castle: the propriety of an immediate attack on the enemy was generally acknowledged; and orders were instantly issued for carrying it into effect. At this juncture, the main body of the English appeared in sight. Not a moment was to be lost: the gates were thrown open, and a chosen band of infantry sallied from the castle. The vanguard of the English, unprepared for the assault, and unsupported by their own troops, were easily routed: while La Hire, the governor, issuing with a strong force of lances and men-at-arms, advanced to engage the other division, who were now hastening to the rescue of their companions. Separated from their leader, and acting without any concerted purpose, it is not difficult to imagine that this tumultuary body would be speedily defeated. At the first charge, they were thrown into disorder: a second assault dispersed them in every direction; and, for a distance of two leagues, over which La Hire continued to chase the unhappy fugitives, the bodies of the wounded and the slain marked the progress of the victorious enemy.

In the mean time, Arundel, with a handful of undaunted followers, contrived to maintain the unequal contest against his assailants. Retiring to a corner of the field, where his rear was protected by a strong hedge, he had hastily thrown up a fortification of pointed stakes in front, from which he was able to bid defiance to all the efforts of the enemy. To reduce him, a culverin was at length procured from the castle. The second shot, striking him on the ankle, shattered his leg, and brought

him to the ground: yet he continued to cheer on his men, until La Hire, returning from the pursuit, joined in the attack, and compelled the few that still survived to yield. Among the prisoners was the Earl himself, who was removed immediately to Beauvais, and placed under surgical care: but his wound baffled the skill of his attendants, and, though he languished for several months, it ultimately terminated his existence, on the twelfth of June, in the following year.^a By his will, dated April 8, 1430, he had directed his body to be buried in the collegiate chapel of Arundel, in the wall, between the choir and the altar of our Lady,^b where a beautiful cenotaph, which will hereafter be noticed, still marks the spot originally selected for this purpose. For some unknown reason, however, his wish in this particular was not complied with, and his remains, instead of being conveyed to England, were interred in the church of the Grey Friars at Beauvais, where he died.^c

The Earl of Arundel, says Polydore,—and the simple eulogy is repeated by the later historians—“was a man of singular virtue, constancy, and gravity, whose death, at such a disastrous moment, was a severe affliction to his countrymen.”^d By the government, indeed, his talents seem to have been justly appreciated. In every anxious emergency, in every enterprise of difficulty or danger, his services were eagerly demanded; and the intrepidity, no less than the success, that emblazoned his various enterprises, was well recorded in the name

^a Monstrel. VII. 195—203. Hall, 172, 173. Esch. 13 Hen. 6. N^o. 37.

^b Dugd. Bar. I. 322.

^c Monstrel. VII. 202.

^d P. 615.

of “*the English Achilles*,” by which he long continued to be remembered in France.^a

He was twice married;—first, to Constance, daughter of John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope, who left him no children;^b secondly, to Maud, daughter of Sir Robert Lovell, and widow of Sir Richard Stafford, who died a few months after his decease. By the latter he had one son, Humphrey, his successor in the earldom.^c

^a Nouv. Dictionnaire Hist. Edit. 1810. Article “*Arundel II.*”

^b Lib. S. Albani, fol. 159. Milles, 657.

^c The accounts given by all our genealogists of Maud, Countess of Arundel, are extremely incorrect. 1°. Her union with Stafford is entirely omitted; and 2°. as a consequence of this, her daughter, named Avice, or Amicia, by her first marriage, is invariably assigned to what was, in reality, her second. The origin of these errors will undoubtedly be found in the rolls, many of which make no allusion to the Stafford marriage, whilst two expressly call Avice the sister and heir of Humphrey, Earl of Arundel (Claus. 16 Hen. 6. m. 4. Inquis. capt. apud Lond. 16 Hen. 6.). There are, however, several inquisitions on the death of Avice, in 1457 (36 Hen. 6.), which clear up the difficulty, and shew distinctly that she was the daughter of Maud, by a marriage with Sir Richard Stafford. In that taken at Dorchester, it is said, that “Humphrey Stafford is her cousin and next heir, that is to say, the son of John (Stafford), who was the brother of Richard (Stafford), *who was the father of the said Avice.*” That the marriage with Stafford preceded that with the Earl of Arundel, is evident from the fact, that Maud died in 1436, but little more than twelve months after the Earl (Esch. 15 Hen. 6. N°. 39.), and that Avice, her daughter, was then in her fourteenth or fifteenth year (Inquis. capt. apud Lond. 16 Hen. 6.). The will of Maud, which is dated in May, was proved in October, 1436. It bequeaths to “Humphrey, her son, all her relics; and to Amicia, her daughter, wife to Sir James Ormond, Knt. (afterwards Earl of Wilts) her French book:” and it appoints “Elizabeth Lovell, her mother, and Humphrey Stafford, her father” (father-in-law), to be her executors. Testam. Vetust. 233.

XVIII.

HUMPHREY FITZALAN, TENTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

He was born on the thirtieth of January, 1429,^a and survived his father not quite three years. He died
 1438. April 24, 1438, in the tenth year of his age.^b

XIX.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, ELEVENTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

On the demise of Humphrey, the last Earl, the title and its estates passed to his uncle, William Fitzalan.
 1417. He was born on the twenty-third of November, 1417;
 1438. and, on the completion of his full age, in the November after the death of his nephew, obtained livery of his
 1439. estates.^c In the following year, the death of Beatrix, widow of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, placed in his possession the lands belonging to her dower:^d and the
 1448. decision on the question of precedency between him and the Earl of Devonshire, in 1448, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, permanently fixed him in the enjoyment of all the dignities originally attached to the earldom.

There is but little to notice, and less to approve, in the actions of this nobleman. Ready to transfer his

^a Inquis. apud Arund. 20 Octob. 13 Hen. 6.

^b Esch. 16 Hen. 6. N^o. 50.

^c Original. 17 Hen. 6. rot. 37.

^d Fines. 18 Hen. 6. m. 4.

allegiance to every fortunate competitor for the crown, his only ambition seems to have been to attach himself, in humble dependence, to the prevailing faction of the day, and, by the ambiguous or insignificant nature of his services to his existing patron, to qualify himself for a more easy transition to the retinue of the next intruder. By Henry the sixth, in 1459, he was appointed justice in eyre of all the forests south of Trent, an office which was confirmed to him by each of the three succeeding monarchs.^a In the same year, his name appears upon the list of nobles, who, in the parliament held at Coventry, subscribed an oath of allegiance to Henry, and of fidelity to his son:^b yet, in less than twelve months, we find him ranged among the enemies of these very princes, and employed, with Norfolk, Warwick, and other members of the hostile faction, in “governing the king” during the absence of the Duke of York in the north.^c On the seventeenth of February, 1461, the second battle of St. Albans took place. On that occasion, Arundel was present with the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Warwick, and the other adherents of the house of York: but the Lancastrian forces, under the queen, proved triumphant: Henry was rescued from the hands of his opponents; and Arundel, with such of the insurgents as had escaped destruction in the field, was glad to consult his safety by a precipitate flight.^d In the transactions, which filled up the few remaining weeks of Henry’s reign, the Earl was too timid, or too cautious, to take any conspicuous part.

^a Pat. 37 Hen. 6. p. 2. m. 13. 1 Ed. 5. m. 4. 1 Ric. 3. p. 1. m. 18.

^b Rot. Parl. V. 351. ^c Stow, 413.

^d Wyrcester, 486.

The house of Lancaster was rapidly declining; that of York was as evidently rising towards the ascendant. Arundel had sufficiently testified his willingness to approve the measures of the predominant party, and he now quietly waited till other hands should enable the usurper to reward his neutrality.

The reign of the fourth Edward offered little temptation to the fidelity of the Earl. The transitory gleams of success, which at one time enlivened the efforts of the dethroned monarch and his friends, were of too faint and doubtful a character to betray the caution of this experienced time-server: and, during the twenty-two years which elapsed from the accession to the death of Edward, he appears to have had the merit of remaining steady in the service of that king. His employments, however, like his attachment, were but of little importance. In the first of Edward's reign, he was made warden of the forest of Clarendon, in Wiltshire:^a in the following year, he accompanied the royal army in its march to the north, and was present at the siege of Bamborough castle, which, after an obstinate resistance, at length surrendered to the king.^b In 1470, he was appointed constable of Dover castle, and warden of the cinque ports:^c and, the year after, received, with the order of the Garter, a commission to serve with twenty men-at-arms and forty archers, against the remnant of the Lancastrian forces that still endeavoured to maintain the cause of Henry.^d

^a Pat. 1 Ed. 4. m. 12.

^b Stow, 416, 417.

^c Pat. 10 Ed. 4. p. 1. m. 2.

^d Anstis, II. 185. Dugd. Bar. I. 323. His attendance at the festivals, observed by the Knights of the Garter, appears to have been

The success of that monarch, during the last two years, together with his momentary restoration to the throne, suggested to Edward the expedience of adopting some means for securing the succession in his own family. His first measure, after the defeat of his opponents, was to summon a parliament at Westminster, in which an oath was proposed, binding the lords, in the event of his death, to acknowledge and support the title of his infant son. Arundel was among the first to affix his signature to the document:^a he was equally forward, when the opportunity offered, to violate his faith and assist the usurpation of Richard the third. He appeared in the procession which, on the fifth of July, 1483, conducted that monarch through the city of London to Westminster: the next morning, he assisted at the coronation; and, at the succeeding banquet, performed his hereditary office of chief butler.^b But the same caution, which had hitherto marked his career, still enabled him to preserve his allegiance for another bidder. Henry the seventh, in his turn, was met with the proffer of his services. Before his coronation, that prince received at his hands the order of knighthood; and, in the solemn ceremonial of the following day, was attended by the same man who had successively

1483.

1485.

very irregular. In 1474, he was fined in the sum of forty marks, for two years previous absence from the feast of St. George, without any legitimate cause. In the following year, his neglect continued, and a second fine of eighty marks was imposed. In 1476, he was present: but, in 1479, as well as in the succeeding year, he again absented himself, and two distinct entries, among the proceedings of the chapter, mark the consequent displeasure of the order. Anstis, II. 189, 193, 196, 205, 209.

^a Rot. Parl. VI. 234.

^b Grafton II. 114. Ed. 1809. Hollinsh. III. 398.

acknowledged the contradictory claims of his four predecessors.^a

The Earl, however, did not long survive the revolution which placed Henry on the throne. The infirmities of age were gathering rapidly about him ; and, during the two remaining years of his life, he probably confined himself wholly to the privacy of his family. He died at Arundel Castle, in the early part of the year 1488, the seventy-first of his age, leaving issue by his wife, Joan, sister to Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, known in history as “ the king-maker,” four sons, Thomas, William, George, and John, and one daughter named Mary, who died unmarried.^b His tomb, which is on the south side of the choir, in the collegiate chapel of Arundel, will be described in a subsequent part of the present work.

Though the political conduct of this nobleman bears a very questionable character, yet, in his private relations, we know of nothing that merits condemnation. He was learned, in an age when learning was too generally neglected or despised by persons of his order : he was the patron and the friend of literature, at a moment when it most required the fostering protection of the great ; and it may be, that even his political errors will find some excuse, in his anxiety to secure the means of pursuing, without interruption, the peaceful occupations to which he was devoted. Besides the donation of the

^a Anstis, Append. to Observ. N^o. 56.

^b Vincent on Brooke, 32. Anstis, Garter, II. 222. Glover, in his MS. Catalogue of the Earls of Arundel, cited by Vincent (MS. Ashm. 8467.), calls the daughter “ Joan,” a circumstance which has probably led Mr. Dallaway to suppose that there were two daughters, Mary and Jane. R. of Arund. 148. New Ed.

manor of Aynho, in Northamptonshire, with other property, to the college of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, on condition that the fellows "should keep a morrow-mass, in the said college, called Arundel Mass, at an altar called Arundel Altar, for the souls of the said Earl, of Thomas Lord Maltravers, and their successors," as recorded by Anthony Wood,^a the following passage, extracted, by Mr. Dallaway, from Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*,^b bears honourable testimony to his munificence. It is part of the preface to the original edition of Caxton's *Golden Legend*.

"And foreasmuch as this sayd worke was grete, and
 "overchargeable to me t'accomplish, I feryd me in the
 "beginninge of the translacyon to have continued it, ne
 "had yt be at th'instaunce and requeste of the puis-
 "saunt, noble, and vertuous Erle, my lorde Willyam,
 "Erle of Arundelle, which desired me to proceed and
 "continew the sayd worke, and promised me to take a
 "resonable quantity of them, when they were aচেved
 "and accomplished: and sent to me a worschipfull
 "gentleman, a servant of his, named John Stanney,
 "which sollicited me, in my lordes name, that I schulde
 "in no wyse leve yt, but accomplysh yt, promysing
 "that my sayd lorde schulde, during my lyfe, geve and
 "graunt unto me a yerelie fee, that is to wete, a bucke
 "in somer, and a doo in wynter, with which fee I hold
 "me well contente.

"Whych worke I have accomplyshed at the com-
 "maundement and requeste of my sayd speciall good
 "lorde, W. Erle of Arundelle; and have finished yt at

^a *Antiq. Oxon.* 312.

^b *Vol. I. p. 46. apud R. of Arund. 149, note f.*

“ Westmestre, Nov. 20, 1483, the first yere of the
 “ raigne of Kynge Rycharde the third, by me
 “ W. Caxton.”

XX.

THOMAS FITZALAN, TWELFTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

The life of a courtier, whose employments scarcely ever extended beyond the drawing-room or the gala, affords little to interest either the biographer or his readers. Thomas, the eldest son of the last Earl, succeeded, on the death of his father, to his dignities and estates.^a With the period of his birth we are unacquainted: but he had been created Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of Edward the fourth, in 1461,^b and had been married as early as 1464:^c so that, at the time of his accession to the earldom, he must, at least, have passed his fortieth year. In February, 1474, he was elected to the order of the Garter, and eight years later was commissioned by the king to hold the annual feast of St. George at Windsor.^d In the following November, and, consequently, during the life of his father, he was summoned to parliament as a baron, by the title of “ Thomas Arundel de Maltravers, knight:”^e and, in 1485, was, by Richard the third, again appointed to preside at the annual chapter of the Garter on Saint

^a Pat. 3 Hen. 7. p. 2. m. 2. It is dated May 21.

^b Anstis, Append. to Observ. N^o. 47. Wyrcester erroneously refers this creation to the coronation of Edward's queen, four years later.

^c Wyrcest. 500.

^d Anstis, Gart. II. 187, 211.

^e Append. to First Peerage Rep. p. 985.

George's day.^a Like his father, however, he was not unwilling to barter his allegiance for his interest. Though he had plighted his fidelity to Edward the fourth, to the infant son of that monarch, and afterwards to the usurper Richard; though by the first he had been prematurely elevated to the peerage, and by the last had been distinguished by various testimonies of regard, yet he had no objection to add another to his list of royal patrons, and to seek from Henry the seventh a continuation of that favour, which he had hitherto enjoyed under each successful claimant of the throne. At the coronation of that prince, in October, 1485, he officiated, as his father's deputy, in the capacity of chief butler. He afterwards attended at the marriage of the king, in January, 1486; and, in the following September, 1486. was present at the christening of Prince Arthur, to whom he was selected, with the Earl of Derby, to stand godfather.^b His first appearance in a military character was at the battle of Stoke, in June, 1487;^c but of his 1487. achievements in the field, or of his share in the overthrow of the opposing army under the Earl of Lincoln, nothing has been recorded. With the rest of the royal adherents, he, of course, participated in the triumph which consolidated the power of Henry; and with them returned, to be rewarded by the continued friendship of the prince, to whose throne he had contributed to give stability.

^a Anstis, Garter, II. 220.

^b MS. Harl. 4840. f. 667. The description of the christening is in Leland, Collect. IV. 204—207.

^c Vinc. MS. Ashm. N^o. 8467, on the authority of a contemporary MS. account of the Knights of the Garter.

1489. Of his interest at court, indeed, more than one evidence has been preserved. In November, 1489, Prince Arthur, then just entering his fourth year, was called by his father to receive the order of knighthood. As he landed from his barge, he was received by the lords in waiting: the next morning, the Earl of Arundel, (he had now succeeded to the title) and the Marquis of Berkeley conducted him into the royal presence: Arundel fastened one spur, while Berkeley adjusted the other: the king girt on the sword; and the infant prince first, the Lord Maltravers and eighteen others afterwards, were created Knights of the Bath.^a In the same year, the Earl was made warden of the New Forest; and obtained, with his office, a fee to himself and his heirs of forty shillings per annum from the abbey of Reading, an annuity of one hundred pounds from the customs of wool, hides, &c., and a grant of the park and manor of Lyndhurst, together with the hundred of Rudbergh.^b

1492. It was early in 1492 that Henry, after four years of evasions and delays, at length announced his intention of leading an army into the French territory. Arundel, with most of the principal nobility, was summoned to attend him, and, on the sixth of October, the whole force of the English, amounting to more than twenty-six thousand men, landed at Calais, on its way to the siege of Boulogne. The Earl, however, was not destined to reap the laurels of a soldier. Though Henry had boasted of the sincerity of his professions, though he had offered to expose his person to the perils of the conflict, though, before his departure, he had drawn up his last will and

^a Anstis, Append. to Observ. N^o. 58.

^b Pat. 5 Hen. 7. m. 3.

testament, and appointed Arundel himself to be one of the trustees and executors to its provisions,^a yet it soon became evident that he had no design to realize the expectations which he had raised. In little more than a week after the arrival of the army before Boulogne, the war was at an end. A treaty, which had already been privately negotiated, was produced, and the Earl, if he had anticipated the renown of a warrior, was, with the rest of the army, led back ingloriously, to lament the disappointment of his hopes, and condemn the avaricious hypocrisy of his sovereign.^b

From this period we hear but little of the Earl of Arundel. He seems to have continued in favour with Henry the seventh, who, on two several occasions, confirmed his appointment as trustee and executor to his will, and, in three successive years, deputed him, in his own absence, to hold the annual chapter of the Garter at Windsor.^c In the following reign, age, probably, induced him in a great measure to retire from court to the seclusion of his house at Downley, where his latter years were spent in the interchange of those offices of kindness amongst his neighbours, which, more than all the splendour and pageantry of the world, contribute to smooth the declining hours of life. The following letter is, perhaps, the only document which has survived to illustrate his feelings at this period. It is addressed to Robert Sherburne, who succeeded to the see of Chichester, in 1508, and, though referring to a matter

^a Rot. Parl. VI. 444.

^b Polydore, 741—744. Bacon, 604, 605.

^c Rot. Parl. VI. 510, 522. Anstis, Gart. II. 248.

of no general interest, is sufficiently characteristic to entitle it to a place in these pages.^a

“ The cōpye of my lord Thomas of Arūdellys letter, sent to my lord Rob^t Busshop of Chychestre.

“ My veray good and kynd lord and neygborgh,
 “ yn my moste hartely wyse I comāund me unto yow,
 “ and am ryght glad to here of yo^r good p̄sp̄yte and
 “ welfare, hartely thankyng yow of yo^r manyfold app̄ved
 “ kyndnes, desyryng yow of good cōtynuanche of the
 “ same. And where as ye sent unto me for the knolege
 “ of a certeyn rent of v^s. by yere in the manwode, my
 “ lord so yt ys of ryght the sayd v^s. ys payde unto me
 “ by a certeyn p̄son dwellyng in the manwode, wych
 “ holdyth of my manor of almodyton by the sayd rent
 “ and other servyce in chefe. And I most pay ov̄ unto
 “ yow the same v^s. for al mañ demawnds. And, my
 “ lord, yo^r p̄decessor was to me some what unkynd.
 “ And of trowth nodre he nor hys offycers knew not
 “ where to levy the sayd rent: And in consyderacōn
 “ therof, remēbryng there kyndnes, I lett them renne
 “ (run) at large. That not w^tstondȳg, I do ryght wel
 “ dayly app̄ve the entyre love and kyndnes ye do bere
 “ to me and al myne; wherfor, in that and all other
 “ on my behalfe toward yow bylongyng, ye shal have
 “ me glad to content yo^r mynd and dewtye, as my ser-
 “ vāt, thys berar, shall more playnly shew yow, to
 “ whom y hertyly desyre yow to geve ferther credens

^a It is preserved in the Bishop's Registry, at Chichester, Lib. B. Vol. XVIII. f. 82, vel 84.^b

“ in my behalfe. And, yf ther be thyng that y can or
 “ may do yow pleas^r or good, ye shal fynde me glad
 “ to thacōplyshmēt of the same. At Downeley, the
 “ xxiith day of Octobre

“ Ensuryd yo^{rs} Arundel.”

The Earl of Arundel died at Downley Park, in the parish of Singleton, on the twenty-fifth of October 1524, and, on the twenty-first of the following month, was buried, by his own direction, near the body of his wife, on the north side of the choir of the collegiate chapel at Arundel, where his tomb may still be seen.^a He married Margaret, second daughter of Richard Wydvile, Earl Rivers, and sister to Elizabeth, Queen of Edward the fourth, by whom he had issue two sons, William and Edward, and two daughters, Margaret married to John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and Joan the wife of George Nevill Baron Abergavenny.^b 1524.

XXI.

WILLIAM FITZALAN, THIRTEENTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

On the death of his father, in 1524, William Fitzalan, then in his forty-first year, succeeded to the titles and

^a Burials, I. 15. fol. 162^b. in Coll. Arm. “ I Thomas Arundell,
 “ Earl of Arundell, the xii day of Octobre in the year of our Lord,
 “ 1524, and in the xvi yeare of the raigne of king Henry viii, ordayne
 “ this my testament. My bodie to be buryed in the chancell of my
 “ colledg church of Arundell, where my ladye my wyfe doth lie.
 “ Robert, Bishop of Chichester, and my sonne, William Arundell, Lord
 “ Matravers, my executors.”—Proved Nov. 29, 1524. MS. Harl.
 4840, f. 701. ^b Vincent, MS. Ashm. 8467.

estates of his family.^a Like that of his immediate predecessor, his life offers little to our notice beyond the ordinary details of court pageantry. It has already been mentioned that he was admitted to the order of the Bath, in 1489. In 1525, he was installed Knight of the Garter;^b seven years later, he attended Henry in his interview with the French monarch, at Calais and Boulogne; and, in the following May, assisted in the splendid ceremonial which distinguished the coronation of Anne Boleyn.^c He was subsequently appointed to sit on the trial of that unfortunate queen;^d and, in the succeeding year, appeared in the procession which accompanied the infant prince, afterwards Edward the sixth, to the font.^e

The immediate result of Henry's divorce from queen Catherine, and of his consequent rupture with the see of Rome, was the spoliation of the property of the church, and the seizure of the lands, rents, and possessions of the monastic orders. Arundel, who had advocated the divorce,^f shared afterwards in the plunder, and, in exchange for nine of his manors and four woods in Sussex, obtained, from the rapacious prodigality of his master, the site and demesnes of the priory of Michelham, together with numerous parks, manors, and various other property, in Sussex, parcel, formerly, of the

^a Pat. 16 Hen. 8. p. 1. m. 6. Esch. 17 Hen. 8. N^o. 170.

^b Anstis, Gart. II. 369, 373. ^c Hall, 790, 798—805.

^d Burnet, I. 193. ^e Strype, Mem. II. 3.

^f He was one of the noblemen who, in 1530, signed the celebrated address to Pope Clement VII., urging him to accede to Henry's wishes, and hinting, in case of a refusal, the probability of a separation. Herbert, 331—334.

endowment of the priory of Lewes.^a He died at Downley Park, on the twenty-third of January, 1544, 1544.

^a By an Indenture made February 4, 1541 (32 Hen. 8.), between the king and William, Earl of Arundel, the latter agrees to sell to king Henry the manors of Shillinglee, Hibernhoo, Palingham, Woollavington, Alversham, Todham, Bignor, Stopham, and Eartham; the parks of Shillinglee, Woollavington, Bignor, and Medehone, with all the woods and deer contained therein; all messuages, rents, profits, and other appurtenances of the said manors in the several parishes over which they extend: the advowson of Woollavington, and eighteen acres of meadow land in the parishes of Bignor and Stopham: the whole, independent of "the woods, underwood, and trees, now growing within and upon the premises," being "of the clear yearly value of one hundred and sixteen pounds, two shillings, and two pence." And, in consideration hereof, the king, on his part, undertakes to pay to the Earl of Arundel the sum of £2073. 10s. at which the woods, underwood, and trees have been valued; to grant to him and to his heirs "the site, circuit, and precinct of the late priory of Michelham," with all its demesne lands, and other property, wherever situate in the counties of Sussex and Kent; and further to settle on him in fee the manors of Swanborough, Horsted, and Imberhorne, the mill called "Cranedown Mill" in Swanborough, Horsted Park and the demesne lands of Imberhorne, the tithe of hay in East Grinstead, the advowson of Ripe, the right of pasture for four hundred sheep on Swanborough Down, and forty loads of timber to be cut each year in the "Homewood," all of which, as parcel of the possessions of the dissolved priory of Lewes, have escheated to the crown "by occasion of the attainder of Thomas, late Earl of Essex, of high treason." "And forasmuch as the said site, precinct, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, &c. limited and appointed unto the said Earl of Arundel, together with the woods and underwoods thereupon growing, be not of such value as the said manors, lands, &c. by the said Earl of Arundel bargained and sold unto our said sovereign lord the king, but do lack of the value thereof the sum of £580. 6s. 7d. sterling," it is covenanted that the said sum of £580. 6s. 7d. shall be paid over to the Earl before the first day of May, next following the date of this indenture. From the Original,

and was buried in the same tomb with his father, on the north side of the choir of the collegiate chapel at Arundel.^a He was twice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, by whom he had two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth; secondly, to Anne, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had Henry, his successor, and two daughters, Anne and Catherine, who, as well as their half sisters, died without issue.^b An account of his tomb, together with a copy of the inscription which it bears to the memory of himself and of his father, will be found in another chapter.

at Norf. House. Sussex. Bund. 8. A copy is entered on the Patent Roll, 33 Hen. 8. p. 1. m. 4. When the reader recollects that the whole yearly value of the possessions assigned by Arundel to the king was but £116. 2s. 2d., and when he is further informed that, according to the partial returns of Henry's own commissioners, that of Michelham alone amounted to no less than £191. 19s. 3d. (Speed, 1078.), he will find it difficult to account for the last clause of this indenture, except by referring to the principle on which all these exchanges of monastic property were made.—The lands and manors here alienated to the crown, were subsequently regranted to Henry, Earl of Arundel. Original, 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. Rot. 109, copied in Lib. A. fol. 407. ^a Esch. 36 Hen. 8. N^o. 117.

^b Vincent, MS. Ashm. 8467. Dugdale, on the authority of Brooke—and he is apparently followed by Mr. Dallaway—makes Anne the first, and Elizabeth the second, wife of this nobleman. Without, however, going farther, the Earl's will, dated on the very day of his death, contradicts this statement. “Being sick at my manor of Downley, in Sussex, I bequeath all my goods, moveable and immoveable, to Henry lord Maltravers, my son, whom, with *the lady Anne, my wife*, I appoint my executor.” Test. vetust. 706.

XXII.

HENRY FITZALAN, FOURTEENTH EARL OF HIS FAMILY.

It is in the moral as in the physical world. The last is often the brightest gleam of the expiring lamp; the strongest effort frequently precedes immediate dissolution; and it not unusually happens that the last member of a decaying house, like the sun on an autumnal evening, will collect about him those glories which have shone but faintly through the meridian hours of his family, and fling at least a parting splendour over a course that is hastening to a close. Of this truth Henry, Earl of Arundel, the warrior, the statesman, and the patriot, affords a striking illustration, as the history of his life, contrasted with those of his three immediate predecessors, will sufficiently manifest.

He was the only son of William, twenty-first Earl of Arundel, and was born about the year 1513.^a Named 1513. after his sovereign, who acted as his sponsor at the font,^b his attachment to the throne began to discover itself at an early period of his life; whilst the ambitious views and proud independence, which characterized his

^a Esch. 36 Hen. 8. N^o. 117.

^b "The Life of Henry Fitzallen, last Earle of Arundell of that name," p. 5. It is preserved among the king's MSS. xvii. A. ix. in the British Museum; and is supposed to have been written by his chaplain. It was certainly composed in the interval between the Earl's death, in February, 1580, and the following April; for, speaking of Arundel's grandson, Philip Howard, the writer styles him "the *Earle of Surrey* that nowe is" (p. 67.); a title which that nobleman never bore after his accession to the Earldom of Arundel.

maturer years, forgot not to shed a certain portion of their influence even over the actions of his infancy. It had been the custom of the English nobility, during several centuries, to place their sons in the household of some distinguished bishop, where, in the character of pages, they received that political and religious education, which prepared them for the civil duties and employments usually attached to their exalted station in society.^a The reputation of Wolsey had already attracted the sons of several noble families to his palace, and the Earl of Arundel, among the rest, was anxious to secure for his youthful heir, then entering his fifteenth year, the benefit of the same tuition. But the spirit of the young nobleman revolted at the idea of being ranked among the retainers even of so powerful a subject as Wolsey. To the proposal of his father he replied with a firm but respectful statement of his objections: his services, such as they were, should be reserved for his sovereign; to him they belonged; at his feet he would offer them; and in his retinue he should acquire that knowledge of chivalry and of the world, which would best qualify him for the duties of after-life. To the king the ambitious youth instantly repaired. Henry, who knew how to appreciate the rising spirit of his godson,

^a “ You shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents
 “ and in all things esteem yourself as my lord’s page; a breeding
 “ which youths of my house far superior to you were accustomed unto,
 “ as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of
 “ Northampton, were both bred as pages with bishops.”—Instructions of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, to his son, William, afterwards Viscount Stafford. Apud Fiddes’ Wolsey, Collect. 19.

received him with affection: he listened to his proposal, accepted his proffered services, and attached him to his own person, by constant marks of attention and regard.^a

Henry soon learned to prize the character and abilities of the young courtier, and, on the recall of Lord Lisle, in 1536, selected him, though only twenty-three years of age, to fill the important trust of governor of Calais.^b Nor had he reason to regret the choice which partiality, perhaps, in the first instance, had induced him to make. During an administration of more than seven years, the constant attention of Lord Maltravers (he had been summoned to parliament by that title, in 1533^c) was devoted to the encouragement of martial exercises, to the improvement of military discipline among the troops, and to the strengthening of the place committed to his charge. At his own expense, the fortifications were extended or repaired; large bodies of serviceable recruits were raised and appointed; and his government continued to be distinguished by that union of splendour and vigilance, which commanded the respect, and forbade the aggression, of an enemy.^d

1536.

But the death of his father, in January, 1544, recalled him from this scene of distant magnificence, to take possession of the estates and dignities of his ancestors.^e In April, he was elected to the order of the Garter: and, during the two following months, appears to have continued in retirement at Arundel, employed, probably,

1544.

^a MS. Life, 3—7.^b MS. Harl. 4840. p. 748. MS. Life, 8.^c The writ is tested 5 Feb. 24 Hen. 8.^d MS. Life, 9—13.^e The Patent, 36 Hen. 8. p. 2. m. 46, gives him special livery of his late father's possessions.

in arranging his affairs, in making himself acquainted with the wants of his tenants, and in cultivating those feelings of mutual kindness, which ever after characterized his intercourse with the neighbourhood.^a Inactivity, however, was not an atmosphere in which he could sojourn for any lengthened period. The treaty, concluded by Henry with the emperor Charles V., in February, 1543, had already produced a declaration of war between the English and French crowns; and the partial successes of the first campaign had only rendered the British monarch more anxious to display his prowess at the head of a disciplined army. In July, 1544, Arundel and the Duke of Suffolk embarked, with a numerous body of troops, for the French coast: Henry himself followed in a few days; and, on the twenty-sixth of the same month, the whole force of the English, amounting to thirty thousand men, encamped before the walls of Boulogne. Arundel was created "Marshal of the field," and preparations were made for investing the town. But the resistance of the besieged was more determined than Henry had anticipated. For nearly two months, they continued to bid defiance to the repeated assaults of the enemy: attempt after attempt was defeated, and though many of the outworks were compelled to surrender, the town itself was still able to

^a MS. Life, 13, 14. Anstis, Garter, II. 431. The former leaves it to be inferred, that he remained at Arundel during the whole of the year. "After dewty donne to his Matie he withdrewe to his owne home, his Castle of Arundell, where he so intertained his neighboures that Christmas then following, as to this day it beareth the name of the greate Christmas," (p. 14.). The date, however, of the expedition to Boulogne proves that the interval between July and Christmas was more actively employed.

make good its defence. In the night, however, of the eleventh of September, a mine, which had been successfully worked beneath the castle, was sprung; and the courage of Arundel completed the enterprise. Availing himself of the confusion of the moment, he instantly ordered the guns to open with redoubled fury upon the walls, and, at the head of a chosen body of troops, marched up in person to the intrenchments. Here, while the artillery played over his head, he calmly waited its effect. At length a breach appeared: in an instant, he sprung into the gap: his men followed him into the town; and the garrison, driven from their works at every point, were glad to capitulate to the victors. On his return to England, Arundel, for his services, was rewarded with the office of lord chamberlain, which he continued to fill during the remainder of Henry's reign.^a

The accession of Edward VI. effected but little alteration in the political condition of the Earl. By the new sovereign he was retained in the honourable post of lord chamberlain, and was appointed to act as high constable at the coronation. He had also been named, in the will of the late king, as a member of the council of twelve, intended to assist the executors in cases of difficulty: but this nomination invested him with no real authority: he could merely offer his advice when the executors themselves chose to require it: and even the trifling influence, which this might have conferred on him, was annulled, when Hertford, under the title of Protector, assumed the government of the realm, and the guardianship of the infant king.^b

1547.

^a MS. Life, 14, 15. Lloyd's Worthies, I. 291, 292. Herbert, 577—580. ^b MS. Life, 15, 16. Burnet, II. 4. Rymer, XV. 114, 116.

That nobleman, now Duke of Somerset, though his elevation to the supreme power had been effected by the voices of his equals in the council, was not disposed to acknowledge, even by the courtesy of his behaviour, his obligations to the men who had raised him to his present superiority. The arrogance of his demeanour disgusted the other members of the cabinet, and the first opportunity was eagerly seized, to force him from the eminence on which they had placed him, and set up the Earl of Warwick in his stead. Arundel was a chief promoter of the design. In a body the confederates repaired to Windsor, whither the obnoxious minister had hastily retired: a list of twenty-nine articles, accusing him of presumption, negligence, and incapacity, was exhibited against him, and, on the second day, he was ordered into custody, and conducted immediately to the tower. Arundel, Warwick, and four other lords were appointed to take charge of the young king, with orders, that two of them should be in constant attendance on his person.^a

It might have been expected that Warwick would rest contented with his present triumph: his jealousy, however, had already singled out another victim, in the person of the very man who had mainly contributed to his success. When the bill for the infliction of penalties on Somerset was introduced to the parliament, Arundel was still in office: but a series of ridiculous charges had been collected against him, from the last twelve years of his life; and when the late protector obtained his release, the Earl had been dismissed from his employments. It was asserted that he had

^a King Edward's Journal, 6, 7. Burnet, II. 130, 131.

abused his privileges, as lord chamberlain, to enrich himself and his friends; that he had removed the locks and bolts from the royal stores at Westminster, had distributed "the king's stuff" among his acquaintance, and had been guilty of various other acts of embezzlement, which had disqualified him for every office of dignity or trust. It is true that the proof of these charges was never exhibited, and that Edward himself terms the offences only "crimes of suspicion against him:" but the "suspicion" was sufficient for the purposes of Warwick: Arundel was removed from the council, was ordered to confine himself to his house, and was mulcted in the sum of twelve thousand pounds, to be paid in equal annual instalments of one thousand each. His confinement, however, was of short duration: and the injustice of the accusations having been ascertained, the fine also, or a portion of it, was remitted.^a

But Arundel was not likely to forget the injury thus inflicted on him. During the preceding year, 1549, the scarcity of employment, the low rate of wages, and the numerous enclosures of common land, which had deprived thousands of the working classes of the means of subsistence, had produced a violent and simultaneous insurrection in most of the southern, midland, and western counties; and Arundel had been sent

^a Edward's Journal, 7. Stow, 603. Strype, speaking of these charges, calls them "certain pretended faults" (II. 232.). Nevertheless, it appears that four, out of the twelve, thousand pounds were actually paid, and that Arundel obtained only a remission of £8,000. Edward's Journal, 19.

into Sussex, that he might there exercise his extensive influence, in allaying the commotion. His success was answerable to the decision of his character, the policy of his measures, and the conciliating conduct which he adopted towards the insurgents. In a few days, the people had returned to their homes, the occupations that had been abandoned were resumed, and tranquillity was perfectly restored throughout the county:^a so that, when symptoms of uneasiness were now a second time beginning to manifest themselves, the council naturally turned to the man, who had already proved his competency to the undertaking, and required his assistance in repressing the disturbance. His answer, though it might not surprise, was, at least, calculated to mortify, them. His late punishment, he said, for offences which he had never committed, had injured him both in his fortune and his health: in suing out his pardon, he had paid sufficiently dear for the favour to which he had been restored: and he could not, therefore, comprehend on what principle he was now ordered into Sussex, or why his services, which had formerly been so ill requited, were again demanded. The council, in reply, assumed a tone of authority: they challenged him to return the pardon which he complained of as so expensive; repeated the order for his departure; and required a direct answer on the subject. The Earl, however, was not to be terrified by menaces which discovered the anger, but not the power, of his opponents: and the council, foiled in their object of frightening him into submission, were glad to despatch

^a MS. Life, 17—24. Burnet, II. 108.

the Duke of Somerset to appease the troubles of the south.^a

It is not improbable that his opposition, in this instance, to the wishes of Warwick and the ruling party at court, had some share in producing the persecution to which he was afterwards subjected. There was another cause also which operated against him. Men, when pursued by the aggressions of a common enemy, are apt to forget their mutual animosities, and to unite in repelling the aggressor. This was the case with Arundel and the Duke of Somerset. The injuries, which they had both received at the hands of Warwick, speedily obliterated the remembrance of their own dissensions: they felt the necessity of offering a united resistance to the destructive arts of that nobleman; and, from the moment, therefore, when Arundel regained his liberty, an intimacy had sprung up between them, which gradually ripened into friendship. It was on the sixteenth of October, 1551, that Somerset was a second time committed to the tower, on charges of felony and treason. In the original depositions, no mention was made of the Earl of Arundel as an accomplice: but, in the course of a few days, the evidence of one of the accused, named Crane, began to implicate him; by degrees this man's recollections became more vivid; and, on the eighth of November, the Earl was arrested and conveyed to the tower, "because Crane did more and more confess of him." It was said, that he had been consulted by Somerset on the practicability of his treasonable designs, that he had received overtures to induce him to join in their execution, and

1551.

^a Strype, II. 233. Edward's Journal, 16.

that he was privy to the intended massacre of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at the house of Lord Paget. The truth of these accusations, however, which rest entirely on the doubtful testimony of Crane, is more than questionable.^a That he had consented to become a partner in the treason of Somerset was never pretended: and that he possessed a guilty knowledge of that nobleman's intentions may be reasonably denied. Certain it is that, if Northumberland could have established the fact, he would not have hesitated to take advantage of it. During more than twelve months that Arundel was confined to the tower, his unceasing aim was directed against the life of his prisoner:^b yet he never ventured to bring him to his trial; and though the Earl afterwards acknowledged himself guilty, still, it must be remembered, that this confession was exacted as the condition of his pardon, and that, on a subsequent occasion, he publicly asserted his innocence, in the presence, and with the assent, of Pembroke himself.^c This innocence saved his life: but it was not sufficient to secure him against the minor effects of his adversary's revenge. On the third of
 1552. December, 1552, nearly thirteen months after his committal to the tower, he was called before the council, and required to sign an act of "submission," or acknow-

^a "This Crane was a man, who, having consumed his own estate, had armed himself to any mischief." Hayward, in Kennett's Collection, II. 321.

^b "Albeit he most unjustly kept me a prisoner almost a year, practising my death by many wicked devices, as you yourselves can witness." MS. Life, 30, 31.

^c MS. Life, *Ibid.* Edward's Journal, 33, 35, 36. Strype, II. 383.

ledgment of the justice of the charges alleged against him. He was then fined in the sum of six thousand marks, to be paid in equal portions of one thousand annually, for six years: he was bound, in a recognizance of ten thousand marks, to be punctual in his payment of the fine, and was at length dismissed, with an admonition from the assembled lords, "to behave himself according to the duty of a nobleman, and to be in deed what he professed in words." In the course of a few months, however, the declining health of the king suggested to Northumberland the expediency of conciliating the nobility. Arundel was first restored to his place at the council-board: and, a few days before Edward's death, was discharged entirely of his fine.^a

1553.

The demise of the king, and the elevation of the lady Jane to the throne soon afforded the Earl an opportunity of vengeance. It was on the evening of the sixth of July, 1553, that the young monarch expired. Northumberland's first care was, to conceal the knowledge of this event: his next, to provide means for executing the project, which he had formed, of placing his daughter-in-law upon the throne. The guards, therefore, in the palace had already been doubled, all communication between the chamber of the prince and the other apartments had been cut off, and the council was now suddenly assembled, to discuss the measures necessary to be adopted, before they proclaimed the lady Jane. Arundel, on this important occasion, attended in his place at the board, and apparently entered with ardour into the designs of the Duke. But his intentions in

^a Strype, II. 383.

joining the conspiracy were directed to a far different object. That same evening, while his companions were still in deliberation, he contrived to forward a letter to Mary, unfolding the designs of her enemies : he informed her of her brother's death ; assured her that Northumberland's motive in concealing it was " to entrap her before she knew of it ;" and concluded by urging her to consult her own safety, by retiring instantly—she was then in the neighbourhood of London—to a greater distance from the capital.^a Mary was sufficiently acquainted with Arundel's real dispositions to listen to his advice : while the Earl himself, determined to entangle Northumberland in his own toils, continued, during more than ten days, to yield his ready concurrence to all the schemes of that ambitious nobleman. He attended the various meetings of the council : he affixed his signature to the letter which they addressed to Mary, denouncing her as illegitimate, and asserting the paramount title of her rival :^b he accompanied Northumberland, Northampton, and others, when they informed Jane of her accession to the crown, and offered their homage and allegiance to that unfortunate lady ; and when, on the following day, she removed from Sion House to the tower, preparatory to her coronation, he was found amongst the nobles who attended in her train, and swelled the magnificence of her entry.^c The plot, however, was hastening to a close. Already the Earls of Sussex and Bath, the eldest sons of the lords Wharton and Mordaunt, and most of the gentlemen of the eastern and southern counties had declared for the

^a Burnet, II. 215. *Ambassades de Noailles* II. 56.

^b Burnet, II. 217. ^c Lingard, V. 4, 5.

rightful sovereign, and, to oppose the army, now rapidly collecting round her standard, it became necessary to adopt some instant and decisive measures. Northumberland would gladly have placed himself at the head of the forces; but he was anxious to retain the influence which his presence in the council would secure to him, and he proposed, therefore, to despatch the Duke of Suffolk, with a body of troops, to arrest the progress of the insurgents. To this arrangement Arundel and the other secret partisans of Mary were determined to offer their opposition. They saw the importance of liberating themselves from the control of Northumberland, and they resolved, if possible, to persuade him to assume the command in person. Their entreaties were at length successful. On the fourteenth of July he took leave of the council with a foreboding heart. He reminded them of their obligations, spoke of the dangers to which he was about to expose himself for their sakes, and exhorted them to fidelity, with an earnestness that clearly betrayed his apprehensions. As he passed through the council-chamber, Arundel addressed him in language, which we must now understand to have been of deep and bitter irony: “Fare-
“ well, my Lord, and I pray God be with your Grace.
“ Sorry, indeed, am I that it is not my chance to go
“ with you, and bear you company, in whose presence
“ I could find in my heart to shed my blood, even at
“ your feet.” Then taking Thomas Lovell, the Duke’s boy, by the hand, “farewell,” he added, “gentle Thomas, with all my heart.”^a

Arundel was now at liberty to pursue and develop the

^a Stow, 610, 611.

purpose which he had formed, and he lost no time in endeavouring to sound the dispositions, and engage the exertions, of the individual members of the council. His efforts were not without success. On the nineteenth of July, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy-seal, the Earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, with Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Mason, the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, and several of the aldermen of London, assembled at Baynard's castle, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke. Arundel, who had first suggested the meeting, opened the proceedings with a declaration of its object. He denounced the ambition of Northumberland; spoke of the violence by which that nobleman was always ready to accomplish his designs; asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry the eighth; and, declaring that he was influenced, neither by resentment for the past, nor by apprehension for the future, concluded by calling on the assembly to unite with him in vindicating the claim of the lady Mary, and thus atoning, in some measure, for their momentary adherence to her rival. His address, delivered with a fervour of eloquence, and a strength of reason, not unworthy of the cause, was not lost on the confederates. Pembroke, in the enthusiasm of the moment, rose, and, with his hand upon his sword, exclaimed, "if my Lord of Arundel's persuasions do not prevail with you, either this sword shall make Mary queene, or I will die in her quarrel." In an instant, he was answered by the acclamations of all present. The whole party proceeded in a body through the city: in Cheapside, and at St. Paul's, the heralds proclaimed Mary amid the shouts of the populace: a solemn Te Deum was sung in the cathedral:

tables covered with beer and wine were spread through the streets ; and bonfires, illuminations, and every species of rejoicing testified, through the night, the satisfaction of the citizens. The same evening, Pembroke and his company took possession of the tower ; and Arundel, with the Lord Paget, was despatched with the great seal and a letter from the council, which he delivered to Mary at Framlingham.^a

The intelligence of this revolution reached Northumberland at Cambridge : it was followed, the next day, by Arundel, who arrived with the warrant for his apprehension. With a meanness worthy of his former arrogance, the Duke at once flung himself at the feet of his ancient enemy, besought him to “ be good to him for the love of God,” and implored his mercy in the most suppliant accents. Arundel coldly replied, that “ his Grace should have sought for mercy sooner ;” and, placing him in the custody of his men, conveyed him to the tower, preparatory to his trial and execution.^b

The Earl was now restored to that favour at court, of which the transactions of the last reign had almost

^a MS. Life, 27—42. Godwin, 107, 108. Stow, 612. Burnet, II. 220, 221. The letter, which Arundel carried from the council to Mary, is in Strype’s Cranmer, Append. N^o. 71.

^b Stow, 612. In the Harleian MS. N^o. 787. fol. 61. is a letter, which has been published by Lodge, and which Northumberland addressed to the Earl of Arundel, the night before his execution. He reminds him that “ a lyving dogge is better than a dead lion ;” prays that the queen may “ give him life, yea the life of a dogge, that he may but lyve and kiss her feet ;” and beseeches the Earl that he will “ spare not his bended knees for him ” with her majesty, remembering “ how sweet life is and how bitter y^e contrary.” Such were the supplications of him, who had more than once sought the life of the very man that he now addressed !

entirely deprived him. In reward of his late exertions, Mary immediately bestowed on him the office of lord steward of the household: to this were added a seat at the council-board, a license for two hundred retainers beyond his ordinary attendants, and a variety of local privileges connected with his possessions in Sussex.^a He was also appointed to act as lord high constable at the coronation, and, on the same occasion, was deputed to confer on any number of persons not exceeding sixty the dignity of knights of the Bath.^b His services in the reign of Mary were various. In his efforts during the progress of Wyatt's short-lived rebellion his loyalty and patriotism were eminently conspicuous:^c and his talents in conducting the negotiations of the country with foreign powers reflected honour on the distant missions with which he was more than once intrusted. In 1555, he was selected, with Cardinal Pole, Gardiner, and the Lord Paget, to urge the mediatorial offices of the queen at the congress of Marque, and to effect, if possible, a renewal of amity between the imperial and French crowns.^d Three years later, he was deputed, with Thirlby, bishop of Ely,

^a Pat. 1 Mar. p. 2. m. 5, 11. Strype, Mem. III. 480. The reader, who may wish to become acquainted with the retainers of ancient times, will find an interesting account of them in Mr. Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, I. 334—337.

^b Pat. 1 Mar. p. 2. m. 10. Bill. Sign. 1 Mar. Anstis, Append. to Observ. N^o. 66, 67, 68. These knights have been generally called knights of the carpet: but Anstis has assigned sufficient reasons to prove that they were knights of the Bath. ^c MS. Life, 45.

^d Ibid. 46. The Patent 1 and 2 Phil. and Mar. p. 14. m. 19. says that he was deputed to Calais "for great affairs concerning the weal and quietnes of this our realme." The particulars of the negotiation are in Noailles, IV.

and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, to the conferences held by the three powers of England, France, and Spain, in the abbey of Cercamp; and was actually engaged in arranging the preliminaries of a general peace, when the death of Mary suddenly dissolved the commission, and arrested the progress of the treaty.^a The original of the following letter, addressed by the Earl and Wotton to their colleague, the Bishop of Ely, is preserved at Norfolk House.

To the Bishop of Ely.

[MS. LETTERS, N^o. 145.]

“ After our hartie comēdacōns to yo^r good Lordshippe, Mondaye the xiiiith of this present, we depeched Ffrancisco Thomas, the corōur, yn the morninge, at the openinge of the gate, to your lorshippe with our lr̄es, the continew wherof was this.

“ After our hartie comēdacōns to your good lorshippe, we have receyved your lorshippes lr̄e, with the rest

^a MS. Life, 51. In the new edition of Mr. Dallaway's *Rape of Arundel*, a life of this Earl has been inserted, which is copied, with some trifling additions, from Lodge's *Illustrious Portraits*. Among the additions is an assertion that, “ in January 1558-9, Elizabeth sent the Earl Ambassador to France, whence he returned in April : ” and this is accompanied by a note, referring to Strype for the confirmation of the writer's statement, and charging the MS. Life in the Museum with having “ erroneously ” placed this mission “ in Mary's reign, ” (p. 157. note f.). The correctness of the MS. Life will be sufficiently vindicated by the date of the letter which I have printed in the text : but the reference to Strype, and the presumed delegation of the Earl, in January, 1559, require a more direct notice. The truth is, that the Earl of Arundel was not the person deputed by Elizabeth on that occasion. Strype says (*An. I. 34.*) that “ a letter was sent from the

sent out of England, by Ffrancisco Thomas, for the which we thanke yo^r lorshippe. And having perused all the said l^res, we thinke some of them to be of greate importance, and therefore to be well wayed; which in our myndes cannot be sufficientlye done, unlesse we meete all three together. And therefore wer we first determynd to come to Cercamp to yow. But afterward thinkinge further on the matter, we consydered that yf we shuld so do, the Ffrenche (and peradventure some other to) wold thinke that we had had answer out of England of our matters, and that, seeinge we retournid all to Cercamp, the ffrench wold thinke we wer content to agree with them as we might, though not as we wold; which wold make them to stande the more earnestlye to their former answers. Ffor avoydinge of the which suspicōn, we thinke it best (yf your lordshippe thinke the same) that we meete eyther at Bethune, or at Arras (for Saint Pol is both to neere Cercamp, and also unable to lodge us, consyderinge the greate garisons that lye there). And consyderinge that Bethune is farther from Cercamp then Arras, and the wayes so fowle to thone, and so fayre to thother, and for certeyne other consyderacōns besydes, we thinke that Arras wer

councilsignifying the queen's determination to send *the lord chamberlain, Lord Arundel;*" and the nobleman thus described is understood, by Mr. Dallaway's editor, to have been "*the Earl of Arundel.*" Both, however, are wrong. The lord chamberlain was neither Lord Arundel, nor Earl of Arundel; but was William, Lord Howard of Effingham: and this was the agent who was sent by Elizabeth, in January 1559, to join the commissioners in France. See *Camd. Eliz.* p. 31. ad an. 1559, and the names of the commissioners in Forbes's *State Papers I. passim.*

the meeter place of both to meete at. And yet nevertheless we remitte that to your lordshippes determynacōn: so that yf yow resolve upon Bethune, upon knowledge therof we will be there at the daye which yow shall appoint, God willinge. This daye we retourne to Arras. And thus we bid yo^r lordshippe right hartely well to fare. From Lisle, the xiiith of Novembre, 1558.

“ But forbicause that this daye we have heard nothing from yo^r lordshippe, neither by the said Ffrancisco nor otherwyse, we feare least some mischance might have lettid him by the waye. Wherefore we have thought good to sende this bearar heerwth unto yo^w trustinge that yo^r lordshippe, consyderinge the waightynesse of the matter, will sende us answer of your mynde heerin with diligence. And thus we wishe your lordshippe right hartely well to fare. Ffrom Arras, the xvth of Novembre, 1558.

“ Yo^r lordshippes assuredlye

“ *To the right honourable and our verie good lord the Busshoppe of Ely at Cercamp.*”

“ Arundell. N. Wotton.”

Before this meeting could have taken place, however, the queen had expired. She died on the seventeenth of November, only two days after the date of the letter; and Arundel, on the arrival of the intelligence, instantly returned to England.^a

By the successor of Mary the Earl was retained in all the dignified employments which he had held in the preceding reign. Disgusted by the “ sinister workinge of some meane persons of her counsaile,” he had been induced, shortly before the death of the late queen, to

^a MS. Life, 53.

surrender the staff of lord steward.^a Elizabeth, on her accession, immediately replaced it in his hands: she called him to a seat in the council, and added to his other honours the appointment of high constable, and high steward, of England, at her coronation.^b In January, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; but relinquished the office, probably from religious motives, in little more than four months.^c Yet the opposition of sentiment, necessarily involved in this proceeding, caused no diminution of the favour which he had hitherto enjoyed under the new sovereign. As if their religious feelings were in perfect unison, Elizabeth chose the very moment when theological violence was convulsing the whole frame of society, to distinguish him by tokens of more than ordinary esteem. She made him her companion, and became his guest: she visited him at his splendid residence of Nonsuch: joined in the revels which he there ordered for her entertainment: accepted, at her departure, of “a cupboard of plate,” as she had before received the perquisites obtained by him at her coronation; and repaid his attentions with assurances of unlimited confidence, and professions of the sincerest regard.^d It will scarcely surprise the reader to find that these symptoms of kindness, if not of affection, at length induced him to aspire to a union with his royal mistress.^e But Elizabeth had no serious thoughts

1560.

^a Ib. 49—51. Though Mary accepted his resignation, she refused to appoint a successor, and placed the office in commission. Pat. 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar. p. 3.

^b MS. Life, 53. Strype, Mem. III. 479. Pat. 1 Eliz. p. 4. m. 8.

^c Wood, Fasti Oxon. I. 86, 87.

^d MS. Life, 53, 54. Strype, Annals, I. 194.

^e Camd. Eliz. 56. ad an. 1560.

of marriage; and a subject, perhaps, was not the best qualified to urge a successful suit with that imperious princess. Arundel's addresses were first encouraged, and then rejected: in anger he resigned the staff of lord steward, and Elizabeth, to resent the affront, restrained him to his house.^a It has been suggested by one writer, that the queen's only motive in retaining the Earl among the members of her council, and the favourites on whom she chose to lavish her attentions, was to counteract the powerful influence which he might otherwise have exerted against her schemes of reformation.^b He was a catholic; but, to please her, had given to all her measures the sanction of his vote. So far she had succeeded; and it is some confirmation of Dodd's assertion, that, when her object had been accomplished, and he was no longer necessary to her policy, and, perhaps, to her amusement, she could not only discard him with contempt, but continue occasionally to treat him with relentless severity.

1564.

But whatever were the motives of the queen, Arundel, though released, within a month, from his confinement,^c felt deeply the disappointment to which her refusal had subjected him. Early in the year 1566, a violent attack of gout afforded him a pretext for visiting the baths at Padua, and he gladly availed himself of it, in the hopes of dissipating the reflections that still continued to press

1566.

^a MS. Life, 55. Strype, Annals, I. 456. It is evident, from Camden's words, that his suit must have received encouragement. "Postquam vanâ spe matrimonii cum reginâ magnas opes profudisset, spesque illa, Leicestrio jam apud reginam potentissimo, et amicis in aulâ fidem fallentibus, omnino infracta esset, impetratâ veniâ," &c. p. 102, ad an. 1566. ^b Dodd, I. 472. ^c Strype, Annals, I. 458.

1567. upon him.^a The event was answerable to his wishes, and he returned, at the end of fourteen months, restored both in health and spirits. On his arrival at Canterbury, he was met by a body of more than six hundred gentlemen, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, who had assembled to welcome his re-appearance among them, and conduct him in triumph to the capital. At Blackheath the cavalcade was joined by the recorder, the aldermen, and most of the merchants of London: as they approached the metropolis, the lord chancellor, the Earls of Pembroke, Huntingdon, Sussex, Warwick, and Leicester, with others, to the number of two thousand horsemen, came out to meet him: the bells of the different churches proclaimed the joy of the citizens; and the demonstrations of gladness, that every where surrounded him, testified the universal affection with which he was regarded. In this manner he passed in procession through the city, and, having paid his respects to the queen at Westminster, hastened by water to his house in the Strand.^b

^a “ My lorde of Arundell meaneth now at the sprynge, for the better recoverye of his helthe, to go into Italie, havinge allredy obteyned leave so to doo.”—Lodge, Illustrations, I. 359.

^b MS. Life, 55—58. Camd. 103. It has often been asserted that, on this occasion, he appeared in the first coach, and presented to Elizabeth the first pair of silk stockings, ever seen in England. Of the authority for the latter part of this statement I am ignorant, though, had the circumstance really occurred, the MS. Life, which mentions the expenses of his journey, speaks of his reception at the various courts abroad, and minutely details the particulars of his procession to Westminster on his return, would scarcely have omitted to record it. Of the former part, notwithstanding that it has been adopted by Hume, Lingard, and other writers, the origin is certainly nothing more than a marginal note in Camden (310), which may not have been written by the author himself, and which,

The Earl was now partially restored to favour: so that, when the conferences relative to the accusations, brought by Murray against the queen of Scots, were re-
 at all events, is contradicted, not only by a passage in Stow's Chronicles, informing us that, "in 1564 Guillim Boonen, a Dutchman, became the queen's coachman, and *was the first that brought the use of coaches into England,*" but also by an entry in the Burghley Papers, cited by Mr. Markland, from which it appears that so early as 1556, ten years before Arundel visited the continent, these vehicles were in common use among the more opulent families of the country (Archæol. XX. 462, 463.). I may add, what appears to have escaped the notice both of Mr. Markland and of Dr. Pegge, in his Curialia, that the blunder of Hume, Anderson, and others, who have assigned to the Earl of Arundel the honour of introducing the use of coaches *after his death*, has evidently arisen from the accidental insertion of the marginal note, above alluded to, under the year 1580.

In the British Museum (Casley, N^{os}. 36—40) there are five MS. volumes, containing a collection of forty-six Italian madrigals. The author was Innocentio Alberti di Tarvisis, musician to Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara; and, from a note at the beginning, we learn that they were specially composed, and set to music, for the Earl of Arundel, in 1568. It is most probable that they were commenced while he was in Italy, and sent after him to England, when finished, in the succeeding year.

The following, amongst other poetical effusions, was written to celebrate his return. It is preserved among the King's MSS. in the British Museum, 12 A. XV. p. 196.

"In reditum viri nobilissimi, D. Henrici, Comitæ Arundeliæ, Roberti Oweni Carmen Gratulatorium.

"Sacra tuum celebrat musarum turba sacrarum

"Adventum, celebrat noster Apollo tuum :

"Gratus ades cunctis, heros clarissime, musis,

"Gratus ades, patriæ flosque decusque tuæ :

"Gratus ades regno, Comes ô præclare, Britanno,

"Omnibus atque bonis denique gratus ades.

"Robertus Owen."

1568. moved from York to Westminster, he was joined in the new commission then appointed for the trial of that unfortunate princess.^a In him, however, the replies of the Scottish agents seem to have produced the same conviction of her innocence, which the bishop of Ross describes as prevailing among “all the noblemen that heard her cause;”^b and he now employed himself with unremitting ardour in forwarding the marriage of Mary with the Duke of Norfolk, and thus, if possible, terminating the captivity and the sorrows of the royal exile. He had already affixed his signature to the letter in which Leicester had proposed this matter to the consideration of the Scottish queen:^c he now entered into all the conferences, and united in all the measures, adopted for strengthening the party of the duke, and thus more easily extorting the consent of Elizabeth to the proposed union. But he had made an enemy of one, whose vigilance was not likely to be deceived, and whose influence with the sovereign was sufficiently powerful to give weight to his resentment.
1569. With Norfolk, Westmorland, Pembroke, and others, Arundel had united in a plot to seize and imprison the secretary, Cecil, with a view ultimately to destroy that ascendancy in the counsels of the queen, which had long rendered him an object of jealousy to the nobles of the court.^d The design had been betrayed and defeated: but Cecil, it may be supposed, would not easily forget the attempt; and when, at length, the discovery of the projected marriage determined Elizabeth to commit the Duke of Norfolk to the tower, his father-in-law,

^a Goodall, II. 190.

^b Apud Anderson, I. 80. III. 58.

^c Camd. 158. ad an. 1569.

^d Ibid. 151.

the Earl of Arundel, was also placed under arrest, and restrained to his house in the Strand. The northern insurrection, which broke out a few weeks later, added to the length and rigour of his confinement. From Arundel House he was removed to Eton college, and thence to Nonsuch, where a close and protracted imprisonment brought on a return of his complaint, and, by withdrawing him from his concerns, contributed to involve him in many pecuniary difficulties. At length, however, he obtained his release: but it was only to be followed, on Norfolk's second apprehension, by another arrest, which again restricted him to his house for several months. When he regained his liberty (for nothing appeared against him), Norfolk had been executed; the projects and the aspirings of that unhappy nobleman had passed away; and Mary, the injured queen of Scotland, deprived almost of her last hope, was left to await in silence the same fate, to which *his* had been intended only as a prelude.^a

1571.

1572.

Arundel seems now to have retired wholly from court, and to have passed the remainder of his days in the

^a MS. Life, 59—61. Cabala, 168, 169. Camd. 163, ad an. 1571. It has been asserted on the authority of Camden, who is copied by Vincent, in his "Herologia Anglica" (MS. Ashm. 8467.), that, immediately on his release, Arundel violently opposed himself to Elizabeth's matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Alençon, and, in consequence, entirely forfeited the favour of his mistress. The MS. Life makes no mention of this opposition: but it expressly says, that, after his liberation, "his clearnes appearinge (as ever it had donne) manifest to the worlde, he continewed in hir Graces favour from thenceforth as before he had donne." p. 61. The reader, who may feel curious to watch the treatment of Mary in her imprisonment, will find some original letters on that subject in the Appendix, N^o. IV.

seclusion of his home. There, attended, during several years, by the affection of his only surviving child, the Lady Lumley, the persecutions of the world were forgotten, at the same time that the infirmities of age were almost charmed away. He had been a widower more than twenty years; but the society of her who was “his nurse and deare beloved childe,” atoned for every other privation, till, in the simple language of his biographer, “God tooke her also from him,” and left him in that loneliness of the heart, which succeeds the final blight of our affections, and renders the last desolate hours of life so doubly desolate. This severest of his afflictions he survived not long. His complaints, which had been gaining ground for some time, now advanced rapidly upon him; and, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1580, he calmly expired at Arundel House in the Strand. He was buried, with becoming pomp, on the south side of the altar, in the collegiate chapel at Arundel, where his monument, with a long biographical inscription, may still be seen.^a

The character of this nobleman has been drawn by one who was evidently acquainted with him. “He feared God, did good to many, and was not the harmer of any. He was in minde of the noblest sort, rather to be wished for in a king, than to be found almost in any subject; and yet ordered in such manner,

^a MS. Life, 67—69. The inscription, which will be found in a subsequent chapter, places his death on the twenty-fifth of February: but the deed by which, as the reader will recollect, Lord Lumley disposed of his interest in the Castle to Philip Howard, is dated on the twenty-fourth, and there can be little doubt, therefore, that the MS. Life is, in this instance, more correct than the Epitaph.

“ as both his humour in that regard was bountifully
 “ supplied, and such as he left for heirs nobly remem-
 “ bered.”^a Yet, the splendour of his means was not
 augmented by the arts which are too often found ser-
 viceable for such a purpose. By the crown, which he
 served, he disdained to enrich himself; and from the
 tenants, who acknowledged him as their lord, he was
 more solicitous for affection than encrease of wealth.
 In prosperity he was affable and kind, in adversity re-
 signed and unbroken: nor could even the trying afflic-
 tions of his latter years disturb the serenity, however
 they might cloud the brightness, of his departing hours.^b
 Of his public conduct, though it involved him in many
 persecutions, it was never pretended that it was really
 criminal. His offence, as Dr. Lingard has observed,
 was found in his opposition to the designs of the ministers,
 assisted, perhaps, by a degree of talent well calculated
 to render his hostility formidable.^c In person, he ap-
 pears to have been of the middle-size, well proportioned
 in limb, “ strong of bone, furnished with cleane and
 firme fleshe, voide of fogines and fatnes.” His coun-
 tenance, though not handsome, was regular and expres-
 sive; his voice was powerful and pleasing; but the
 rapidity of his utterance, added to the conciseness of

^a MS. Life, 2, 3.

^b Ib. 62—64. “ He showed himselfe to be none of those that
 “ weare to be accompted prowde in prosperity, and weake in adver-
 “ sitie His manners were ever gentle and witty, with a kind
 “ of an estate rather of nature than of any hardness to be pleased.”
 Ib. I have cited this passage, because, in the new edition of Mr.
 Dallaway’s Rape of Arundel, his character is said to have united to
 great talents “ considerable ambition, and a *haughty deportment*.” p. 160.

^c Hist. of Eng. V. 194, note.

his diction, not unfrequently rendered his meaning “somewhat harde to the unskilfull.”^a His dislike of “new-fangled and curious tearmes” was not more remarkable than his aversion to the use of foreign languages. In the course of his travels, during the year 1566, he visited the court of Brussels, where the Duchess of Parma, then regent, received him with that distinction, which his reputation, no less than his dignity, invariably secured for him among the continental sovereigns. It chanced that he was invited to a banquet, at which the Prince of Orange, with most of the chief courtiers, was present: the conversation, of course, was carried on in French: but Arundel, though he could speak the language fluently, refused to adopt it, and continued to join in the discourse through the medium of an interpreter. The circumstance naturally called forth the remarks of the company; and the Prince of Orange, turning to Sir John Wilson, who was present, and who relates the story, expressed his surprise that an English nobleman should possess so little acquaintance with the language of his neighbours. The observation was not intended to reach the Earl; but it was presently repeated to him, and instantly answered. “Tell the prince,” said he, “that I like to speak in that language in which I can best utter my mind, and not mistake.”^b

Henry, Earl of Arundel, was twice married. His first wife was Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and aunt to Lady Jane Grey: by her he had one son, Henry, who died at Brussels, in 1556, and two daughters, named Joan and Mary. He was

^a MS. Life, 63, 68.

^b Wilson's Art of Logic, apud Strype, Annals, II. 669, 670.

married, secondly, to Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex; but had no issue by her.^a Of his son, Henry, the MS. Life, to which I have frequently referred in the course of this memoir, says,—
 “ His only son, the Lord Matravers, (who in his tyme
 “ was worthely esteemed the paragon of this realme),
 “ not exceedinge the age of eighteen yeares, did excel
 “ in all manner of good learninge and languages, in all
 “ activities on horseback and on foote, and in his
 “ behaviour was a most righte courtiour, who, beinge
 “ but of those yeares, was sente ambassadour to Maxi-
 “ milian, the kinge of Boemia, into the lowe cuntrye,
 “ wheare, throughe a hot burninge fever, he ended this
 “ life.”^b He married Anne, daughter and sole heir of Sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield in Essex, and widow of Sir Hugh Rich, third son of Richard, Lord Rich, of Leeze, who, however, brought him no children. He was buried in the north aisle of the cathedral of Brussels.^c Of the daughters, Joan, the elder, was married to Lord Lumley, but died without issue; and Mary became the wife of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the mother of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. They were both learned, in an age in which learning was a fashion, as well as a privilege, among the higher

^a Vincent's Discovery, 33. Mary, the second wife of the Earl of Arundel, died October 21, 1557, at Arundel House, and was buried, on the twenty-seventh of the same month, at St. Clement's Danes. An account of her funeral, at which the ladies Worcester, Lumley, North, and Saint Leger, were the chief mourners, and Bonner, bishop of London, and Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, performed the service, may be seen in Strype, Mem. III. 385.

^b Pages 65, 66.

^c Vinc. MS. Ashm. 8467.

orders of females. The former distinguished herself by her knowledge of Greek, and the latter displayed her powers in several elegant versions and selections from the ancient classics. In the British Museum^a are preserved four pieces, the productions of Mary, Duchess of Norfolk. The first is entitled “*Sententiæ quædam ingeniosæ ex variis Græcorum authoribus collectæ:*” the second is called “*Sententiæ quædam acutæ ex variis authoribus collectæ, atque è Græcis in Latina versæ.*” These are both by “*Maria Norffolke,*” and were, of course, written after her marriage. The others are,—“*Similitudines eximiæ ingeniosissimæque ex Platonis, Aristotelis, Senicæ, et aliorum philosophorum libris collectæ, per Mariam Arundell,*” and “*De stirpe et familia Alexandri Severi, et de signis quæ ei portendebant imperium,*” signed in the same manner. These, in consequence of the signature, have been sometimes erroneously attributed to her step-mother: but they are in the same beautiful Italian hand that characterizes the former two, and are evidently the performance of the same person, before her union with the Duke of Norfolk. Like the later ones, however, they are each preceded by a dedication, shewing that they were presented to the father of the writer as new-year’s gifts. The selections evince considerable taste; the language in which “the sentences” are clothed is pure and classical; and the thoughts, in the original parts, are not unworthy of a more experienced writer than a girl of sixteen could possibly have been. An insinuation, indeed, has lately been hazarded that they were not the production of her own pen; but there is certainly

^a King’s MSS. 12 A. i. ii. iii. iv.

no more reason to suppose that they were written by her tutors, than that the boasted performances of Lady Jane Grey were the work of bishop Aylmer. The following, as a specimen of her style, though it has been printed, I believe, in Park's edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, is entitled to a place in the present work. It is the dedication to the second of the four pieces mentioned above.

“ Etsi plurimis modis, honoratissime Pater, mutuus hominum amor atque studia elucere solent, tum etiam non mediocriter ex xeniis et muneribus hoc tempore vicissim datis acceptisque : in quibus unusquisque facile declarat quare et ille ipse qui dat, et illi qui accipiunt, delectantur. Quibus gemmas, aurum, vestes, equos, vel quidquid est ejusmodi generis, gratum esse norunt, id illi ad amicos suos, ut indicia amoris, deferre solent. Quâ ratione et consuetudine, ornatissime Pater, ego impulsa fui ut aliquod munusculum literarium dominationi tuæ in præsentia offerrem, persuasa D. T. inde non mediocrem voluptatem capturam esse. Nam, si illæ res jucundæ et gratæ ab omnibus judicantur, quæ nullam fere memoriam, et exigua emolumenta facere consueverunt, quid de illis dicemus quæ immortalem famam, et incredibilis utilitatis fructum præbere solitæ sunt ? Inter has merito, illustrissime Pater, collocanda est scientia, rerumque cognitio, quam Cicero animæ nostræ medicinam appellat, alius bacillum vitæ, Socrates cæli terræque dominam, esse docet. Hæc juvenes moderatos facit, senes consolatur, pauperes locupletat, divites exornat. Hujus tanta et tam magna utilitas me vehementer ad hoc genus exercitationis excitavit, cum ut melius bonas literas perciperem, tùm ut scriptis

officium meum et observantiam erga dominationem tuam plenius ostenderem. Legi hoc anno, clarissime Pater, præceptoris mei consilio, sententias quasdam Græcas, quæ mihi legenti mirum in modum placuerunt. Et quoniam graves, acutæ, et plenæ eruditionis erant, ideo operæ pretium fore putavi ut eas Latinas facerem, atque ut D. T. vice xenioli, hoc novi anni initio, darem. Quod eo libentius feci, quoniam experta sum D. T. reliqua scripta mea inculta atque indocta antehac æquo animo semper accepisse. Quæ cum ita sint, non dubito quin D. T. hanc etiam rudem meam versionem, ut signum et testificationem officii erga te mei, eodem animo accipiet. De reliquo, precor Deum Opt. Max. ut D. T. nobis reipublicæque nostræ diu servet salvam atque incolumem.

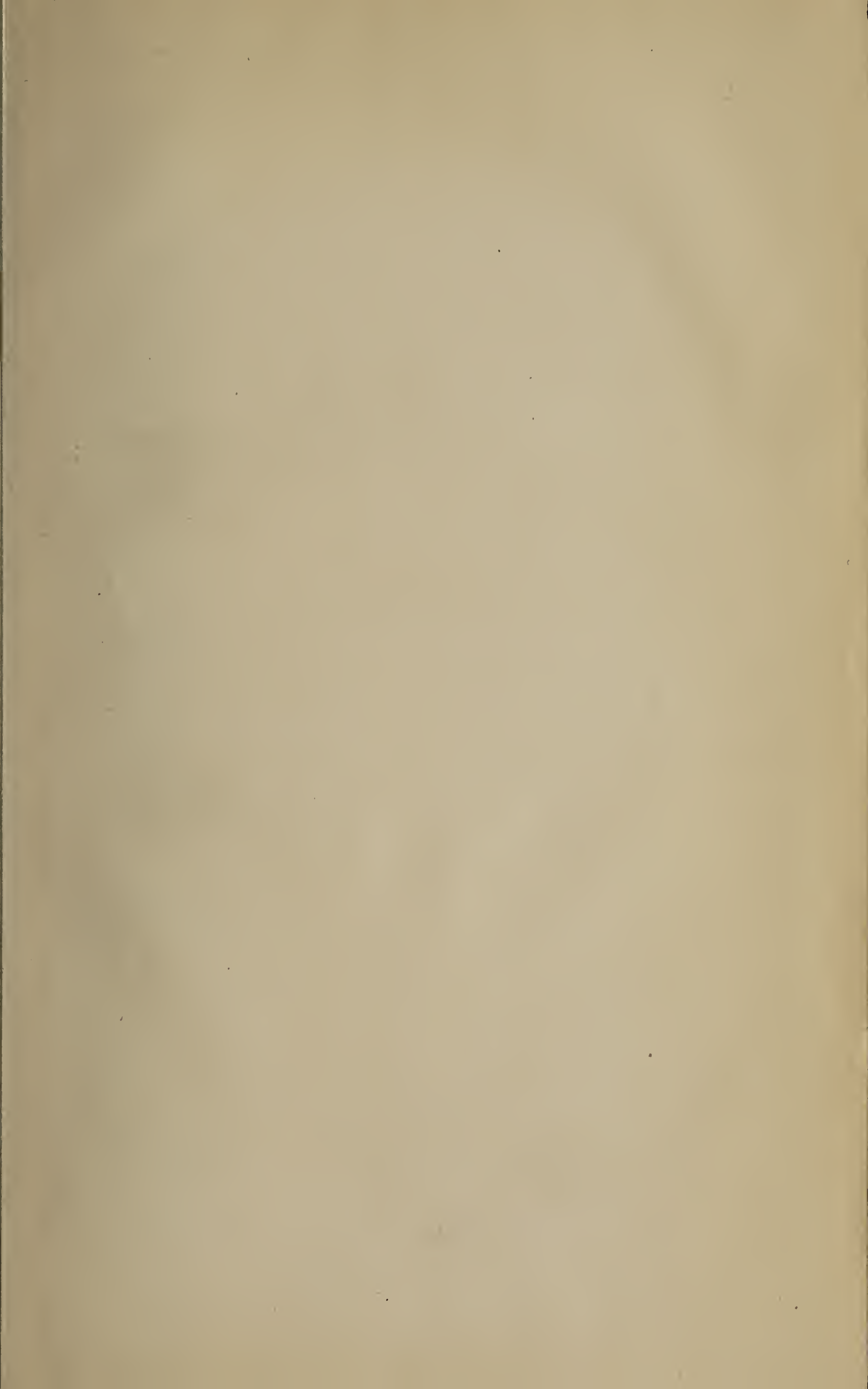
“ Filia tua, Dominationi tuæ deditissima,

“ Maria Norffolcke.”

Mary, Duchess of Norfolk, is described as a person of “ so sweet and amiable disposition, so prudent, pious, vertuous, and religious, that all who knew her could not but love and esteem her much.”^a Her portrait, as the reader will recollect, is in Arundel Castle, and has never, I believe, been engraved: that of her father, the Earl, was painted by Sir Anthony More, as well as by Holbein, and has supplied one of the beautiful illustrations of Lodge’s elegant work. There is also an engraved likeness of him in armour; half length, with a round cap, and ruff. The artist’s name is unknown.

^a “ The Life and Deathe of Philippe Howard, Earl of Arundel,” &c. ; MS. in possession of the Duke of Norfolk, ch. 1. p. 2.

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